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THE LIFE
OF
CLAUD MARTIN,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY

OF
THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"A brave and experienced officer and a man of strict honour.
Warren Hastings.

"That brave, ambitious, fortunate, and munificent Frenchman."
Hawkesworth.

BY
S. C. HILL, B.A., B.Sc.,
Officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India.

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To
My Dear Wife.



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PREFACE.

IN India, the ancient home of idle talk and rumour, it seldom happens that any true recollection remains of the lives of even the most distinguished men. One would, however, have expected an exception in favour of Claud Martin, to whom so many hundreds of English boys have owed their education and their after success in life, but unfortunately, through the long delays of the Law, his bequests did not come into effect till more than thirty years after his death, and so there was ample time for him to be forgotten and his character to be misrepresented before there was any one sufficiently interested in his story to undertake his defence. This is, however, not a justification but merely an excuse for the undeserved neglect with which he has been treated, and the publication of the following pages is accordingly only an imperfect attempt to repair the injury done by English tongues to the memory of a generous foreigner.

In a work of this kind it is at times difficult to distinguish its proper limits. The life of an eminent man is necessarily to some extent a



picture of his time, and hence one is forced to include matter not always directly concerned with his individual affairs. Then there are minor incidents, which must not be neglected, because, though of little intrinsic interest, they, when the Records are as in this case very imperfect, may suggest to a reader, or to a later biographer, clues to fresh sources from which to fill up the too numerous gaps in the narrative. As for the Notes a large number have been introduced simply to show how far the account here given of Martin is based upon authentic information. The rest, I trust, will justify themselves.

I have to express my gratitude to His Grace the late Dr. Goethals, Archbishop of Calcutta,* Mr. Sykes, Principal of the Lucknow La Martinière, Mr. Wood, Principal of the Calcutta La Martinière, Mr. Pringle, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Madras, and Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library for much and valuable assistance.

Calcutta, 1901.

S. C. H.

* The recent death of Dr. Goethals has been an irreparable loss to all interested in historical research. He was not only a scholar but a friend of scholars, and his valuable library of books on India and the East was always at the disposal of those who came to him for information.



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THE LIFE
OF
CLAUD MARTIN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YOUTH AND SERVICE IN THE
FRENCH ARMY IN INDIA.

IN the middle of the eighteenth century India was in a state of hopeless confusion. The Muhammadan Empire of Delhi was in its last throes, and the States of Southern India, before the rise of Haidar Ali, were, though independent, too weak to oppose any serious opposition to an invader. Along the sea-coast the English and French had small semi-commercial, semi-military settlements, of which the French were probably the stronger, for Frenchmen were popular with the native Princes and peoples, and had a high reputation for skill and daring. No wonder then that boys in French schools were filled with ambition to cross the seas and fight and conquer in



those strange Eastern lands of which they heard so much. Such a boy—a boy of the middle class—was Claud Martin.

Claud Martin, or Claude Martine,¹ the second son of Fleury Martin, cooper (and not, as is generally supposed, silk-manufacturer), of Lyon, by his first wife, Ann Vaginay, was born on the 4th January, 1735, and was baptised at Saint Saturnin the following day. His mother died on the 22nd September of the same year, and on the 14th February 1736 his father married Jeanne Marie Martinet, by whom he had five sons and daughters,² and who was later

¹ In his Will General Martin writes in one place "Claud" and in another "Claude." He always spells his surname without the final "e," but almost every one who mentions him uses it, thus probably indicating his mode of pronunciation. The details given regarding his family are taken partly from *M. Sachot*, partly from his Will, and partly from a Pedigree attached to *Mr. Money's* Report.

² In the Bill filed in the Supreme Court of Calcutta in the case of *Martin v. Advocate-General* we read :—"The said Fleury Martin again intermarried with Jean Maria Martinet, and had issue of that marriage two sons.....and three daughters.....and no other issue," but in the Pedigree attached by *Mr. Money*, Master of the Court, to his Report of the 3rd February 1830, he gives three other children, Christophe, Fleury and Vincent, of whom he tells us only that they died in the lifetime of the General. *Mr. Money* is so inaccurate that little importance need be attached to this entry.



on assassinated near Paris. Fleury Martin himself is said by some to have died in prison at Paris on the 28th June 1755, by others to have died at Lyon in 1750. Claud attended the College at Lyon for some years and showed a taste for mathematics and science, a capacity which stood him in good stead in after life, but, at the age of sixteen, his mind was fired with the spirit of adventure, and he persuaded his younger brother Louis to enlist with him for service in India. His stepmother had sufficient influence to cause the enlistments to be cancelled, and her own child listened to her entreaties to stay at home, but Claud insisted on carrying out his intention.

He reached India at the turning point in the struggle between England and France. At the very moment when the French General Dupleix seemed about to sweep the English out of Southern India his plans were overthrown by Clive, and, within the next ten years, not only did the English maintain themselves in Madras against leaders of genius like La Bourdonnais, Bussy, and Lally, but they destroyed the French settlement in Bengal and replaced the native Prince of that great province by a puppet



of their own, so that the Treaty of Paris in 1763 left France nothing but the memory of Dupleix's great dream of a European Empire in the East. During these ten years of fighting Martin served first as a trooper, and afterwards, probably, as a non-commissioned officer. *Larousse*³ tells us that Martin distinguished himself in many actions against the English. This is possible, but the deeds of private soldiers and even *sous-officiers* do not often appear in French or any other history, and there is, I believe, no recorded mention of any exploit of Martin's. All we know of him is as follows :—The Archives of the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies show that he embarked at L'Orient on the ship *Le Machault*,⁴ on the 18th September 1751, and arrived at Pondicherry in 1752. The French Records show further that he served as a dragoon in the Guards

³ *Larousse* (Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1866-77) possibly took his account from the *Biographie Générale* du Dr. Hoeffer, édit de Firmin Didot, 1860, tome 33, page 40, where it is said that Martin distinguished himself at "the captures of Goudeleur and Fort Saint David, in the campaign of the Carnatic, and in the expedition of Tanjaour," but got tired of serving in a low rank and so went over to the English.

⁴ Probably so named after Machault d'Arnonville, Comptroller General in 1745. Dr. Hoeffer says Martin left L'Orient on the 2nd May 1757.



of the Governor in 1755, that he was in garrison at Porto Novo in the Cavaliers d'Aumont, and that he served as a dragoon under Bussy in 1758. *Colonel Malleson* (see Appendix) quotes the *Military Calendar* (Vol. 2, page 75), in which it is asserted that he "had formerly served in the Lorraine Regiment." If this is true he must have joined this famous regiment about 1758.

Hawkesworth, a friend and admirer of Claud Martin, writes in his "East Indian Chronologist," under date January 16th, 1761: "Pondicherry taken for the first time by Colonel Coote. Mr. Claude Martin, since so justly celebrated for his princely manners, after this event threw himself on the munificence of the English."

A few references to a person, named Martin-Lion, who is presumably Claud Martin, occur in a work entitled "Le Nabab René Madec," by *Emile Barbé*, who drew his information partly from the memoirs of the French adventurer of that name. Madec joined the English under somewhat equivocal circumstances after the fall of Pondicherry, and tells us that he took service as a sergeant in an English party under Martin-Lion, with a number of other French prisoners,



whom the English had promised to employ only in Bengal and against natives of India, and who accepted these terms in order to escape from the miseries of confinement in the jails of Madras, intending to desert from the English at the first possible opportunity. Madec's career was not such as would lead us to give much credit to his statements, but if Claud Martin was known amongst his comrades as Martin-Lion it shows, as I have said elsewhere, that Martin was a very common name amongst the French soldiery.⁵

⁵ See *M. Emile Barbé's* "Le Nabab René Madec, Histoire Diplomatique des projets de la France sur le Bengale et le Pendjab (1772-1808)," page 27. Madec says that on the fall of Gingee in 1761 he was made prisoner by the English and he and his fellows were so badly treated by their captors that when the emissaries of the English had represented to them that "they would be made to serve only in Bengal (where France, alas! had no longer any interest) and solely against the Indians, and that they could thus enroll themselves in their ranks without any scruple of patriotism, ... I suggested this proposition to several of our companions, representing it as the only means of breaking our chains, and regaining our liberty on the first opportunity. We made a sort of agreement by which we engaged ourselves to profit by the first opportunity to break the bonds into which a frightful necessity had cast us." Accordingly with 105 other Frenchmen he took service in a company under the command of Martin-Lion "his former comrade at Masulipatam." It is quite possible that Madec did represent the state of affairs to his comrades in this manner, and for doing so the English made him a sergeant. I think it very probable that Madec refers to the second company raised by Martin on his return to Madras as the first



These, with some not quite certain references in the Government Records, are the only contemporary allusions to Claud Martin between 1758 and the notification of his appointment as an ensign in the service of the East India Company in September 1763.

company numbered only 109 altogether, and these were not prisoners. *See note 15.* We shall come across Madec again in the mutiny of the European troops on the Karamnassa.



CHAPTER II

HOW MARTIN CAME TO JOIN THE SERVICE OF THE
HONOURABLE COMPANY.

THE generally received account of Martin's first connection with the English is that he belonged to the body-guard of Lally and deserted to the English during the siege of Pondicherry in 1760, whilst *Mr. H. G. Keene*⁶ actually places this alleged desertion as early as 1757, when Clive captured Chandernagore. In 1783 the English Field-Officers petitioned the Court of Directors, and, appended to the Public Proceedings of the 10th November of that year, are two lists of their names, in one of which the clerk has added certain details against the names of some of the officers. Against that of Claud Martin, who, it must be remembered, had withdrawn from active service seven years before, and was now living in the distant town of Lucknow, it is stated that he held brevet rank as Lieutenant and Captain in Madras as early as 1760. If this is correct Martin must either have deserted the French

⁶ A Handbook for Visitors to Lucknow. 1875.

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FIGURE OF A LION
FROM THE
CHAPEL TOWER, CONSTANTIA.



before 1760, or when his term of service in the French army expired have enlisted with the English.⁷ It seems, however, more probable that the clerk, in the absence of reliable information, filled up his columns with whatever he could get, and that he confused Martin with two other persons of that name who joined the English during the siege of Pondicherry. The historian *Robert Orme*,⁸ who, in spite of his eloquence, is not always accurate, writes (Vol. 2, page 640): "Fifty of the late deserters had been incorporated under the command of two French officers, *brothers*, of the name of Martin." Now as a matter of fact the French in Southern India had suffered so severely from the war, and the insolent haughtiness of Lally was so much resented, that when their troubles culminated in the siege of Pondicherry civilians as well as soldiers deserted to the English. On the 14th May 1760, Colonel Eyre Coote, Commander of the English forces,

⁷ *M. Octave Sachot* in his article in the *Revue Britannique*, numero de Février, 1870, entitled "Le Major Général Claude Martin," points out that Martin's engagement must have been, as in the case of other volunteers, for a limited period only. Unfortunately he does not state the length of that period.

⁸ *Robert Orme*, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, 1775-1778.



wrote to the Governor of Madras: "I have two gentlemen here whose names are Martin. They have been very badly treated by Mr. Lally. *I have all the reason in the world to believe them men of spirit.* They have already been of service to me, and are willing *to go upon any desperate action.* These I would put at the head of this party" (composed of French deserters) "one of them with the pay of Lieutenant, the other with that of Ensign, *without any kind of rank or commission in our Service,* to this I hope you will have no objection as I am convinced it is the best use I can put *those kind of people to.*"⁹ Orme, it will be observed, turns these Martins into officers and brothers, but, from the words I have italicised, I think it is clear that Colonel Coote was writing of Civilians and not of officers or even soldiers. Again, supposing they were brothers, though the name of Martin is not uncom-

⁹ Fort St. George Military Consultations, 1760. Vol. 12. In Broome's History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army, Appendix Q, there is a General Return of the Honourable Company's Troops on the Bengal Establishment, February 14th, 1763, a note to which runs :—"Two officers belonging to the French Company who bear no Rank in the Service, not included in the above Return." This note disappears in the Return of the 1st March 1764 (8th Report of the Committee of Secrecy), i.e., in the first Return after the Peace.



mon in the lists of French prisoners, as far as we know no brother of Martin's ever came to India.¹⁰ These Martins were brave men and distinguished themselves against the French at Permacoil, Villaporum, Thiagar, and elsewhere; on one occasion with only 50 men, beating back the French Commandant of Gingee, though he had 100 French soldiers, supported by native infantry and horse. It is not

¹⁰ Lord Valentia mentions a mythical brother, and in the Madras Records, (see Military Department Minutes of Consultations, 6th February and 18th February 1762,) the Martin, who after the wreck of the *Fatteh Salam*, was sent back to Madras is called Mons. V. Martin, or Mons. V. St. Martin, and yet it is almost certain that this is Claud Martin. To make the confusion worse Mr. Money mentions a brother Vincent, but the dates of birth of the known children of Martin's father show that this Vincent, if he ever existed, must have been under 20 at this time. Further, if he so distinguished himself why did the reward of a commission go to his brother? Martin's usual signature was "Cl. Martin," the "l" being written like a "t." If by any accident the lower part of the "C" were obliterated the "Cl." would naturally appear as "St." and thus account for the "St. Martin." As regards the "V," Martin's proper military description was "Volontaire" abbreviated in the French military lists to its initial letter, and so I suppose some intelligent British clerk improved "Cl. Martin, V." into "V. St. Martin," and hence politely into Mons. V. St. Martin. It seems idle to say anything further upon the pitiless inaccuracy of the Company's clerks, but I may mention that in the General Letter to Court of the 8th April 1762, Para. 28, the Martin who escaped from the "Fatty Salam" and was sent back to Madras is described as "Mr. S. Martin, one of the officers of that Company."



known what became of them afterwards, and as it was known that Claud Martin came from Madras it was natural for him to be confused with them at a time when it was not unusual for officers¹¹ who considered themselves insulted by their superiors to take service with the enemy. At the same time it is unlikely that this could have been the case with Martin. He was at the best only a *sous-officier*, and for him to complain of bad treatment at the hands of Lally, a man so haughty that he would hardly speak to any man of rank inferior to his own, would have been ridiculous; but before leaving the subject it may be as well to state a few of the reasons which make it almost impossible to believe that he was a deserter. (1) *M. Octave Sachot* has searched the lists of French deserters during this war, and the name of Claud Martin is not to be found in any of them. (2) All the English officers under whom Martin served speak of him in the highest terms of

¹¹ Lieutenant Labeaume, who behaved so gallantly at the siege of Calcutta, and escaped only because Holwell ordered him to escort some ladies on board the ships, is said (see evidence of Captain Grant) to have left "Chandernagore on a point of honour." Like most of the French who entered the British Service his good fortune soon failed him, and in 1759 he was broken by Lord Clive apparently without the formality of a Court Martial.



respect, but Major Caillaud, who sent the French Companies to Bengal, wrote, "I am quite at a loss what to advise doing with this detachment The officers in general are disgusted at rolling with the officers of it."¹² (3) In one of his petitions to be allowed to remain at Lucknow, he gives as his object the wish to make a fortune on which *to retire to his native country*, a reason which would, by its very impudence, have insured the refusal of his request, had he been known to his superiors as a deserter. (4) He systematically refused, though in the English service, to be naturalised as an Englishman, a foolish scruple if he had already forfeited his nationality by desertion. (5) In his Will he freely disposes of property which he held in France, and of which he would certainly have been deprived had he been a deserter. With reasons of such weight against it the charge of Desertion may be dismissed as false and malicious. Other military writers, like *Williams*¹³ and *Broome*,¹⁴

¹² See "History of the Madras Army," Vol. I, page 174, by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Wilson, Minute by Colonel Caillaud, 1761.

¹³ "Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry," 1817, by *Captain John Williams*

¹⁴ "History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army," 1850, by *Captain Arthur Broome*.



agree with *Hawkesworth* in saying that Claud Martin entered the English service after the fall of Pondicherry in 1761. If he actually took service in the Company's army at that time this would amount technically to desertion, but we have to hold steadily to the fact that his first commission is dated in 1763, and to remember that Martin may have served the English even before this in ways which would not bring any stain on his character. In 1761 the Madras Government¹⁵ sent a company of French, 109 in number, to Bengal in the ship *Fatteh*

¹⁵ See Public Proceedings, September 14th, 1761. The Madras Letter of the 22nd August 1761 says the Company sent was Martin's Free Company, *i.e.*, probably the Company under the two Martins mentioned by *Orme*, and not a Company raised from among the prisoners as proposed by Colonel Coote. This letter also expressly states that the Company was commanded by Mr. Martin. The Bengal Letter to Court of the 8th April 1762, para. 28, says the Mr. Martin sent back to Madras was *one of the officers of the Company*, a curious expression to use of the Commander of the Company. It is possible therefore that after the fall of Pondicherry, Martin accepted a subordinate appointment in this Free Company under a man bearing his own name, and when the latter was drowned in the shipwreck, Claud himself escaped, but, owing to the similarity of name, was confused with his late commander. This supposition does not however seem to me to be consistent with what we know not only of Martin's character but also with the reputation he enjoyed amongst his contemporaries. It is not however inconsistent with the Records as they stand, but my experience of the latter makes me hesitate to accept them as infallible when unsupported by other evidence.



*Salam*¹⁶ under the command of a Mr. Martin. This ship was wrecked off Gaudavar Point,¹⁷ between Coromandel and Orissa, and most of the soldiers drowned, a few being saved by the coolness and courage of Mr. Martin, who had them conveyed in boats to Calcutta.¹⁸ The Board was so pleased

¹⁶ *Fatteh Salam* seems a meaningless term, but I find it occurs more than once as the name of a ship.

¹⁷ Gaudavar Point is probably Godavari Point. The commander, Captain Simmons, deserted the ship because, as he said, those who were in the boat with him were afraid that if they approached the ship the soldiers on board would fire on them. This shameful confession simply drew from the Board the remark that "The Board cannot help observing that they think Captain Simmons left the ship too soon." (See Public Proceedings of 12th November 1761.) The Court of Directors in their General Letter of the 9th March 1763, para. 15, severely censured the Board for their perfunctory enquiry into this matter. From the General Letter to Court dated the 12th November 1761, para. 11, it appears the "Fatty Salem" carried beside military stores and a cargo of redwood, 268 men of Colonel Coote's regiment and a company of 100 Frenchmen, and that the only persons saved were "Major Gordon and about 35 other officers, soldiers and lascars, who came ashore in the long-boat to the southward of Juggernaut." It is pretty evident that for some reason or other the whole facts were not made officially public, and also that Claud Martin, though saved, was not among the 35 cowards.

¹⁸ The Records say nothing of Martin's behaviour on this occasion, but all accounts agree in the one fact that he did well, and this alone will explain the fact that he was sent back to bring up another Company of Frenchmen from Madras. *Broome* (page 355) writes :—"On the passage they were shipwrecked, but owing to the exertions of M. Martine, they were nearly all saved and arrived in boats at Calcutta."



with his conduct that he was sent back to Madras for another Company,¹⁹ which was despatched in the *Norfolk*,²⁰ and is described in the Madras letter as "a new raised company of French commanded by *Mr. St. Martin*."²¹ This Company reached Calcutta in safety some time in 1762.

Oddly enough whilst the English on land, in Madras and Bengal, had more prisoners than they could dispose of, the French naval commanders, M. Pallière and others, had their ships so crowded with Englishmen,²² that, to prevent their dying of scurvy or neglected wounds, they sent them ashore with the request that the English would send an equal number of Frenchmen to Mauritius in exchange. Accordingly a number of French officers, soldiers,

¹⁹ See Select Committee Proceedings, 11th December 1761, where he is called "an officer of the Free Company of French."

²⁰ See Public Proceedings of 11th March 1762.

²¹ See Note 10. In the Proceedings of the Select Committee, 12th March 1762, a letter from Madras was received saying "Monsr. Martin is arrived with us and agreeable to your request is raising another Company from among the French prisoners, which, when completed, shall be sent you by the first opportunity."

²² See Public Proceedings, 20th January 1763. The Council decided that the President should send a boat to Mons. Pallière, Commodore of the French Squadron, proposing an exchange of prisoners. It is not clear whether this was done or not, and it appears more likely that M. Pallière acted on his own initiative.

and seamen, were embarked upon the ship *Ganges* in April 1763.²³ In the list of petty officers, soldiers and seamen so despatched is to be found the name of a *St. Martin* in the regiment of Lorraine.²⁴ Of this

²³ See Public Proceedings, 14th April 1763.

²⁴ This regiment went through an extraordinary experience, *Cambridge* ("An account of the War in India, between the English and French, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the year 1750 to the year 1761," pp. 266-7) writes :—"Lally then sent his army into cantonments, and went himself to Pondicherry, heartily tired of his command and the country, as he would not scruple frequently to declare. The same complaints were universally made by all his officers, and most surprising it is that they could so long keep together, unpaid, a body of troops continually clamouring for their arrears. At length the whole regiment of Lorraine mutinied to a man, and taking possession of four guns, marched out of the garrison with their colours to a considerable distance, where they declared their resolution to support themselves, and put the neighbouring countries under contribution for their maintenance. The officers followed them, and by entreaty and promises endeavoured to prevail with them to return to their duty. The intention of the soldiers was not to desert to the English, but only to *declare off from serving without pay*; therefore the officers were never able to get from them any other answer but that they would agree to return, provided their arrears were paid in three days, otherwise they would, from that moment, begin to subsist themselves in the country. Advice of this being dispatched to Pondicherry, a supply of money was immediately sent from thence, with a promise that the remainder of their arrears should be paid in a week. Upon this the regiment returned to their quarters, and it is remarkable, that not a man of them deserted." It is curious to compare this with the mutiny of the Europeans in the Company's army on the Karamnassa in 1764. Amongst the mutineers on that occasion must have been men who if they had not served in



regiment *Orme* writes, after the surrender of Pondicherry :—"The Grenadiers of Lorraine and Lally, once the ablest bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service : and it was recollected, that from their first landing, throughout all the services of the field, and all the distresses of the blockade, *not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours.*" Is the Martin of this list another Martin or our Claud Martin ? The *Ganges* was in an unseaworthy condition, and when she reached the mouth of the river the weather was so foul that the French officers refused to proceed further, and after communication with headquarters were allowed to return to Calcutta, where they were confined till news came of the declaration of

the regiment of Lorraine had at any rate been witnesses of their mutiny. *Malleson* ("The Decisive Battles of India," page 185) writes :—"Captain Jennings, who then commanded, was told on the spot by one of their ringleaders that the conduct of the men was prompted by the want of faith of the Government in the matter of the donation promised by the Nuwab ; that they had performed their allotted task, had, after a campaign of extraordinary severity, seated Mir Jafar on the *masnad* ; that two months had since elapsed, spent in idleness on the banks of the Durgawati ; that they saw no signs of the payment of the promised reward ; that, considering themselves aggrieved and defrauded, they had resolved to *refuse further service until their wrongs should be redressed.*"



Peace. On the 5th September 1763²⁵ Claud Martin received a commission as ensign in the Honourable East India Company's army. This is the first recorded mention of his Christian name, *and this appointment the first absolutely certain fact in the story of his connection with the English*. Looking at the facts dispassionately, and accepting the unanimous belief in the identity of Claud Martin with the Mr. St. Martin of the *Fatteh Salam*, it appears as if what really happened was as follows:—On the surrender of Pondicherry, finding themselves overburdened with Frenchmen, deserters, or prisoners, who were ready to take service with them, but whom they were not inclined to trust, the Madras Government, having no suitable English officers to put in charge of the first detachment, picked out a smart young non-commissioned officer from among the prisoners, probably on the recommendation of his officers. Such a man, on condition that he should not be required to fight against his own countrymen if the ship were attacked—and it is generally believed²⁶ that Martin made this stipulation

²⁵ See Public Proceedings, 26th September 1763.

²⁶ *Mr. Money*, in his Amended Report, dated the 19th July 1830, writes, "in the year 1763 he quitted Pondicherry, with a few of the troops whom he there commanded, and came into the Indian



when he entered the English service—would be glad to accept this employment in order to escape the monotony and hardships of confinement. It happened that the young officer chosen was called by the not uncommon name of Martin, and hence he was easily confused with the two Martins of Pondicherry whom Colonel Coote had placed in command of his first French Company two years before. The employment was merely temporary, and under ordinary circumstances would have ended with the voyage, but the shipwreck gave a brave man the chance of distinguishing himself, and it was not till he had again been to Madras that Martin had to resume his rôle of prisoner, a position probably modified by the fact that he had now a claim upon the gratitude of the English. Thus when the accident of bad weather

territories belonging to the Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, and there offered his services to the said Company as a military officer, *on condition of not being employed against the French.*" It seems that the Company always, as far as they could do so with safety, spared the feelings of the French who came under their power, for, in the General Letter to Court of the 30th November 1773, para. 47, the Council informs the Court that, whilst expelling most of the French, in conformity with the Court's orders, they allowed others who had been long resident to remain on taking an oath of allegiance "*with the exception only of being obliged to bear arms against their natural sovereign.*"



prevented his return to Mauritius and Peace came to put an end to all hopes of distinction in the French service in India, realizing that his *roturier* birth would always drag him down if he returned to France, this man, who, if born a quarter of a century later, might have been one of the heroes of the French Revolution, saw that his wisest course was to take service with the English.²⁷ An officer of birth might have objected to such a course, but his objection would have been one of sentiment and not of honour. Martin came to the English from a gallant regiment, with unblemished character, with a personal reputation for coolness and resource, and was soon found to possess more

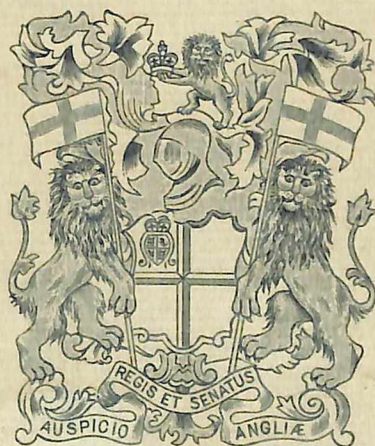
²⁷ Apparently Martin was not the only Frenchman who considered that the Peace gave him an honourable opportunity of entering the English service. *The Military Calendar*, 1823, quoting, without acknowledgment, a note from *Captain Willams' "Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry,"* p. 21, says of the prisoners taken at Pondicherry:—"All the others, being prisoners of war, were sent to Bengal where, on the commencement of the troubles of Cossim Ally," *i.e.*, after the Peace of 1763, "a number of them engaged in the Company's service, and were placed under Claude Martine, their countryman, who had formerly served in the Lorraine Regiment. Mr. Martine, *afterwards* obtained a Commission." *The Military Calendar* is unfortunately very inaccurate and sometimes self-contradictory. Its chief value lies in the indication of facts which may be verified or disproved from other sources.



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than the education of a mere runaway schoolboy. In the building up of her Colonies England owes a greater debt to foreign nations for the services of men of this stamp than any country would willingly acknowledge.



COAT OF ARMS OF THE
HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.



CHAPTER III.

SERVICE IN THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S
ARMY.

IN 1756 Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal, took and plundered Calcutta. In the following year the English under Watson and Clive recaptured the town and, after some fighting and ultimately abortive negotiations for a satisfactory settlement, Clive advanced towards Murshidabad, and defeated the Nawab's forces at Plassey. Siraj-ud-daula was murdered by his cousin Miran, and his uncle-in-law Mir Jafar was placed on the throne by the English in return for the grant of important privileges in trade and the promise of large sums of money. In three years it was found that Mir Jafar could not or would not carry out his promises, and he was persuaded to resign in favour of his son-in-law Mir Kasim, who, in his turn, in the year 1763, found himself in the same predicament as his predecessor. He determined to fight, and imprisoned all the English he could lay hands on. When further resistance proved hopeless he ordered one of his officers, a



German named Samru or Sombre,²⁸ to massacre the prisoners, and thus having had his revenge, he fled to Oudh. The English pursued, and in January 1764 their army, under Captain Jennings, was encamped on the Karamnassa, the river which separates Bengal from the North-West Provinces. Mir Jafar, whom the English had replaced on the throne, had promised the army a large donation, which they had not yet received, and the Europeans in the army, about one thousand in number and mostly French and Germans, now declared that they would go no further but would return to Patna for the money. It was impossible for Captain Jennings to use force, but his officers loyally supported him in his efforts to conciliate the men. Amongst the most active was Martin who

²⁸ Samru's real name was Walter Reinhardt, "a person of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Trèves. He entered early as a common soldier in the service of the French, taking for his nom-de-guerre Summer, which his comrades, from his saturnine complexion, turned into Sombre, and the Indians by corruption, Samru, and Shamru." (*Beale, 'Oriental Biographical Dictionary.'*) Gregory Khan, the Armenian General of Mir Kasim, gave him a command, and when Mir Kasim determined to avenge his defeat upon the English by the murder of his prisoners, Reinhardt was the only one of his officers who would undertake the disgraceful task. After the fall of Mir Kasim he took refuge in one native state after another and died in his bed, rich and powerful in spite of all the efforts of the English to get hold of him.



was in command of a company of Frenchmen.²⁹ One of these informed him that the demand for money was only a blind, that the foreigners, who formed four companies, intended to desert, join Samru and the other foreigners in the service of the Nawab of Oudh, and somehow and somewhere carve out a kingdom for themselves, and that if he would join them they would make him their general. As soon as this information was communicated by the non-commissioned officers to the English mutineers, the latter, who had never even intended to desert, were horrified at the idea of being compelled to join hands with

²⁹ See *Broome*, pages 408, 415 et seq. 433. *Caraccioli* ("Life of Robert Lord Clive, Baron Plassey," Vol. I, p. 389) writes: "On this Captain Jennings recommended the officers to follow the battalion and endeavour to prevail on them to return to duty None of the non-commissioned officers would follow the battalion and so great were the apprehensions of the officers regarding the intention of the soldiers, that only Captain Martin, Ensign Davie, and Mr. Allan, a cadet who had been a sergeant in the 8th regiment and was then Adjutant to the European Regiment, had the courage to proceed. Before the men got half way to the Karamnassa, a Frenchman of Mr. Martin's own company took him aside and told him in French they were going to desert to Sujah-al-Dowlah and therefore desired him to put himself at their head and that he should be their general. To this the Captain, a man of honour, conduct and resolution, gave an equivocal answer, and by degrees dropt in the rear, when he put spurs to his horse, and rode back to camp."



the murderer Samru, and immediately returned to their duty. The Germans soon followed their example, but about 150 men, chiefly Frenchmen, under a Sergeant Delamarr, made their escape and joined the enemy.³⁰ This was the end of the mutiny for the time, but there was much smouldering discontent and, in March, Major Carnac, who had now assumed command, thought it safest to send Martin with the remainder of the French to Calcutta.³¹ On the 18th April Martin received his commission as a

³⁰ All English writers, e.g., *Broome* (page 418), say that the mutineers were headed by a Sergeant Delamarr, the child of French parents born and educated in England, who had so distinguished himself that he had obtained the promise of a commission from Major Adams, and who was disappointed at this promise being forgotten after the Major's death. *M. Barbé* says the leader was Madec, to whose courage and that of his comrades Major Adams was indebted for his victory at Udhana in 1763. Madec, according to *M. Barbé*, now entered the service of Mir Kasim. The spelling of foreign names is so irregular in old histories and records that it is sometimes difficult to identify the persons to whom they belong, but *Malleson* (page 179) says one of Mir Kasim's brigades was that of Madoc, and that the mutineers of the Karamnassa mostly joined the brigades of Samru and Madoc. If so, and if Madoc and Madec are the same, then Madec's memoirs are not quite accurate. *M. Barbé* tells us Madec later on fought the English at Pondicherry in 1778, was captured and sent to France, instead of being shot as a deserter, and died in 1784, a colonel in the French service and a Chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis.

³¹ See Secret Consultations, 26th March 1764.



Lieutenant,³² evidently in reward for his recent good service.

This was not Martin's last experience of mutiny. In August the Sepoy battalions with Major Pemble followed the example set them by the Europeans, but Martin who was in command of two companies of Grant's battalion at Culwar, managed to keep them steady.³³ His being with Sepoy troops so soon after the European mutiny shows that his connection with the French Company ended when he had brought it safely to Calcutta. Its ultimate fate will be told later on. According to *Broome* (page 417), most of those who deserted perished miserably.

In October of the same year Sir Hector Munro defeated Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, in the great battle of Buxar. Captain Hugh Grant's battalion was on the right of the second line and distinguished itself by its steadiness and soldierly behaviour. It is extremely probable that Lieutenant Martin was present at this battle which, in reality, made the English masters of Bengal and Behar. On the conclusion of the war in 1765 Grant's battalion

³² See Public Proceedings, 21st May 1764.

³³ See Secret Consultations, 20th August 1764.



was ordered to join the first Brigade at Monghyr. It was this which led to Martin's connection with Sir Robert Fletcher, the disastrous results of which we shall shortly have to mention.

It appears that somewhere about this time Martin first began to make himself useful in surveying,³⁴ for in the office of the Surveyor-General there is a map of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, dated 1760 or 1764, ascribed to Captain Claud Martin.³⁵ As *Major Rennell*, the first Surveyor-General of Bengal, tells us the survey of Bengal was begun in 1763, the probable date of the map is 1764 or even later.

³⁴ The Council had some difficulty in obtaining Engineer Officers from England. The Court of Directors in its General Letter of the 9th March 1763, para. 92, wrote, "We should very gladly comply with your request for sending you young Persons to be brought up as Assistants in the Engineering Branch, but as we find it extremely difficult to procure such, you will do well to employ any who have a talent that way among the Cadets or others." This makes it possible that Martin was employed in Survey work even before the Peace of 1763.

³⁵ At this period it was customary to call a subaltern "Captain," whilst officers of that or even higher rank were addressed as plain "Mr." The Records of the Company's Warehouse show purchases of cloth for uniforms by a Captain Martin when the only officer of that name was Lieutenant Claud Martin. The confusion was so great that even in military histories we find an officer described as Captain on one page, and a few pages further more correctly as Lieutenant.



The map is interesting only because of its early date, and that it was preserved when so much was lost is probably due to the fact that the records of the early surveys of Bengal were first arranged by Martin's godson, Claude Martine Wade.

The shelter given to Mir Kasim by Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, had already brought that Prince into disastrous conflict with the English, and in 1765 they invaded the country and occupied Lucknow. *Broome* tells us that in March of this year Martin, though apparently in the cavalry,⁸⁶ and amongst the "non-effective" in the previous month, was in command of five companies of sepoys in Oudh, and engaged in the collection of revenue. This is the beginning of Martin's connection with the country which was to be his future home.

When Clive returned to India in 1765 he put an end to the farce of puppet Nawabs and took over the Diwani of Bengal, which made it necessary to

⁸⁶ See the General Return of the Forces on the Bengal Establishment, 6th February 1765, given by *Broome*, Appendix W, and also attached to the Further Report of the Committee of Secrecy following the 7th Report of the same. Martin is there included amongst the non-effectives, and is entered amongst the "Officers in the Cavalry" under the heading of "Sepoys."



collect full information about the country, and so, naturally, surveys of the most recently acquired districts were set on foot. It is not easy to ascertain the names of the junior officers, and *Major Rennell* does not mention Martin, though it appears from his correspondence that about this time he made his acquaintance at Dacca.⁸⁷ It is generally stated that before going to Oudh Martin was engaged in survey work in the North-Eastern Provinces of Bengal, but this is the only reference to it which I can find. In 1766 he was specially detailed, probably on *Rennell's* recommendation, to assist in the survey of the roads of the Province of Bihar.⁸⁸

After the battle of Plassey, Mir Jafar doubled the Batta or Active-Service allowance of the Company's troops. When the war was over this extra expenditure fell upon the Company, and the Board, out of

⁸⁷ See "Major James Rennell and the rise of Modern English Geography," page 47, by *Sir C. R. Markham*, 1895.

⁸⁸ See Select Committee Proceedings, 23rd September 1766. Letter to Colonel Richard Smith :—"In consequence of a resolution taken some time since of making a thorough survey of the roads in the province of Bahar we have despatched Captain Dugloss to you for that purpose, and as we understand that Captain Claude Martin is *well versed in the business of surveying* you may employ him likewise upon the same undertaking."



timidity or simple carelessness, allowed it to continue until the officers looked upon it as an established right. The Directors however insisted upon its being withdrawn, and Clive was commissioned to carry their orders into effect. From the 1st January 1766, all the Batta hitherto drawn by officers in cantonments was, with a few exceptions, abolished. The effect of this will be understood when it is remembered that the Batta drawn by an officer was in every case at least as much as his pay, e.g., a Captain's pay varied from Rs. 124 to Rs. 185, the Batta in both cases being Rs. 186. To this must be added the fact that whilst the nominal reason for withdrawing the Batta was that the troops were no longer serving in foreign territory, this itself was due to their courage and good conduct which had secured the territory now occupied for the Company. The order was felt all the more severely by the junior officers because Clive had recently so improved the emoluments of the Field Officers that their interests were practically unaffected.³⁹ Accordingly

³⁹ *Broome* (page 562) writes :—"The Field Officers—the senior of whom were in a great measure strangers to the rest of the service, and personal friends of Lord Clive, whilst the juniors amongst them were grateful for their recent and rapid promotion

they resigned almost *en masse*.⁴⁰ Apparently Martin was one of the few who did not resign, for on the 30th July he received his grade as Captain. Unfortunately for him he was known to Sir Robert Fletcher, (afterwards Commander-in-Chief at Madras, where he was one of the leaders in the rebellious seizure of Lord Pigot,) who now commanded the First Brigade at Monghyr.⁴¹ Sir Robert was known to be in sympathy with the mutinous officers, and was tried by Court-Martial and cashiered for exciting sedition and concealing his knowledge of the conspiracy. For some now inexplicable reason he persuaded a number of

and satisfied with their positions—were, with one exception, exempt from all participation in or even knowledge of the measures contemplated by the rest of the service. In fact their situations were sufficiently lucrative, *especially with their shares of the Inland Trade Society*, to remove all causes of discontent." The Inland Trade was the trade in Salt.

⁴⁰ Under sanction of the Court of Directors a general amnesty was proclaimed in the General Orders of the 26th September 1766.

⁴¹ A Brigade consisted of one Grenadier and nine Battalion companies of Europeans and six battalions of Sepoys. The whole army was now divided into three Brigades. See 8th Report, Committee of Secrecy. In the narrative of the defection of the officers in the Army of Bengal in the year 1766 appended to this Report a brigade is described as "consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, six battalions of sepoys (or Black infantry) and one troop of black cavalry with field-officers in proportion."



officers to sign a letter in which they implied that he had been badly treated by the Court-Martial, and Lord Clive, hearing that such a letter had been written caused the Select Committee, on the 6th January 1767, to pass an order, dismissing fifteen officers, including Claud Martin, from the Company's service, they being declared incapable of ever being employed again.⁴² It was decided, as an act of mercy, ⁴³

⁴² See Select Committee Proceedings, 6th January 1767.

⁴³ This sounds like sarcasm, but it was not so. The reduction of their income reduced the Company's "Subs" to almost abject poverty. The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 8th March 1787 publishes the following popular ballad :—

NINETY-FIVE.

I am a younger son of Mars, and spend my time in carving
A thousand different ways and means to keep myself from starving;
For how with servants' wages, Sirs, and clothes can I contrive
To rent a house and feed myself on scanty ninety-five?

Six mornings out of seven, I lie in bed to save
The only coat my pride can boast, the Service ever gave :
And as for eating twice a day, as heretofore, I strive
To measure out my frugal meal by scanty ninety-five.

The Sun sunk down in Thetis' lap, I quit my crazy cot,
And straight prepare my bullock's heart, or liver for the pot ;
For Khitnudgar or Cook I've not, to keep my fire alive,
But puff and blow, and blow and puff, on scanty ninety five.

My evening dinner gormandized, I buckle on my shoes,
And stroll among my brother Subs in quest of better news ;
But what, alas ! can they expect from Orders to derive,
Which scarce can give them any hopes of keeping ninety-five.

that these officers, having no means of livelihood apart from their profession, should be sent home by the ships of that season. Martin was ordered to leave by the *Anson*, but whether he left Bengal or not there is nothing to show. Probably he did not for, in spite of the severity of the orders passed, we find from a "*General Military Register of the Bengal Establishment from 1760 to 1795*"⁴⁴ published by

The chit-chat hour spent in grief, I trudge it home again,
And try by smoking half the night, to smoke away my pain ;
But all my hopes are fruitless, and I must still contrive
To do the best a hero can on scanty ninety-five.

Alack ! that e'er I left my friends, to seek my fortune here,
And gave my solid pudding up for such uncertain fare ;
Oh ! had I chose the better way, and staid at home to thrive,
I had not known what 'tis to live on scanty ninety-five.

The "scanty ninety-five" of a subaltern's pay was an improvement upon the pay in 1766, when that of a lieutenant, except in the cavalry, was never more than 90 rupees.

⁴⁴ The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th May 1795 publishes an advertisement of the Register. It was issued by the Mirror Press, and applications were to be made to Mr. Thomas Levingstone at the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road. The cost of publication at that time may be judged from the fact that the price originally asked by the compiler, *Mr. White*, was Rupees twelve, and the Press now advanced it to one Gold Mohur. The volume contains about 100 Foolscap pages. The advertisement concludes :—"It is unnecessary to comment on the utility of a work, exhibiting in a compendious form a complete view of the Bengal Army from the earliest records to the present time. The historian and the antiquary will find it



Thomas Livingstone, that most of the dismissed officers were restored to their rank in August or September of the same year.⁴⁵ This Register represents Martin as having been dismissed from the 16th February 1767, and restored upon the 7th August 1769. It was in fact, on the 1st August 1769 that the Board passed a resolution that :—"The Court of Directors having thought proper to restore the officers dismissed for signing the Letter to Sir Robert Fletcher—Agreed that Captain Claud Martin be restored to the service, but not to rise to any higher rank than his present commission gives him." It seems impossible to explain why Martin should have been treated with such exceptional severity unless he took a leading part in

useful in their respective Departments, and individuals in general, who may be desirous of ascertaining the fate of their friends, relations and acquaintances, will be enabled from such a Register to gratify their curiosity by the most simple and ready reference."

⁴⁵ Some of them did not take their dismissal in a spirit of resignation, e.g., Messrs. Nicol (mentioned for bravery at the battle of Buxar—see Secret Consultations, 6th November 1764) and Davie (for good service in the European Mutiny), who fled to Shuja-ud-daula, carrying off a quantity of fire-arms, and were actually engaged in training a body of soldiers when the Company persuaded the Wazir to surrender them. They were imprisoned for a time at Monghyr after which apparently Nicol was pardoned and Davie was sent home. See General Letter to Court, 30th March, 1767, para. 33.



obtaining signatures to the Letter, and as his signature stands first in an appeal to Clive for reconsideration of his decision it looks as if Sir Robert made use of the warm-hearted foreigner as a cat's-paw. From the records of the Court-Martial it would appear that Sir Robert, though he had proved himself gallant and capable in the field, was disloyal both to Government and his own officers, and that, being found out, he entangled in his punishment other men who believed they were indebted to him, but whom, either because of absence or some other reason, he had not been able to mislead at first. Instead of being shot, as he deserved, he comes out to India again with greater powers for mischief, and aids in the murder of the able and kindly Lord Pigot.

There is nothing to show how Martin lived during his exclusion from the army, nor does it appear that he made any petition for restoration. When re-instated he seems to have been employed entirely with Sepoy troops or upon survey work. At a meeting of the Board (Secret Department) held on the 16th December 1773, the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, presented a Minute dealing with the commands of Sepoy battalions, in which he says :—" I



have also passed by the following officers who have the claim of seniority to Sepoy commands, *viz.*, Captains Martin, Roach, and Morrison. These also I set aside at the instance of the General. The first of these has ever been employed in the surveying branch and is a foreigner, although *in general esteem as a brave and experienced officer, and a man of strict honour.*" Upon this General Barker explains, "As to Captain Martin it was not an objection of detriment to that officer which the General made, but a conviction that the service and the Company would derive more benefit from his abilities in the surveying branch."

At first, communications between the Company and the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh were conducted by military officers, but, after a time, Hastings determined to appoint a Civil Official to this duty as he considered that such an arrangement would be more dignified for the Nawab and more advantageous to the Company.⁴⁶ The first Resident at the Court of

⁴⁶ See Letter from Warren Hastings to Josias Dupré, 9th March 1773. (*Gleig's Memoirs*, I. 305-6.) "Hitherto he has been entirely managed by the military, who have contrived to keep him so weak that his alliance is of no manner of use to us, but obliges us on every alarm to send our army to prevent his being over-

Oudh was Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, who assumed office on the 10th January 1773. On the 3rd February 1775 he was temporarily displaced by Mr. Bristow, but was restored to his post on the 23rd December 1776.⁴⁷ In 1774, when the Nawab-Wazir surrendered certain territories to the Company, Claud Martin, who, of course, had already served in Oudh, was employed in the consequent survey. This possibly brought him to Lucknow and into contact with the Nawab⁴⁸ himself and with his son,

whelmed by his enemies, which has been usually done at the Company's expense, little being required for reimbursement, and that little paid after long delays. I wish to establish a new and more rational alliance between him and the Company, and more creditable to both, and to establish his dependence on the government instead of the military influence which has hitherto ruled him. In this design I am assured of the hearty support of the Council."

⁴⁷ "At the end of this year Mr. Bristow was removed, and Mr. Middleton was appointed a second time to Lucknow, and, notwithstanding the obligations which have been mentioned under which Haider Beg Khan lay to Mr. Bristow, he caused him much annoyance at the time of his departure. This unworthy conduct of Haider Beg Khan's was not with a view to extort any gain, but was the outcome of his natural disposition, for whoever treated him well, he returned him evil." (*Tafzihul Ghafilin*, page 28, by *Abu Talib*, translated by *W. Hoey*, 1885.) This perhaps accounts for Haidar Beg's attack upon Mr. Bristow some seven or eight years later.

⁴⁸ Shuja-ud-daula's "predilection for Frenchmen" is referred to in Select Committee's Proceedings for the 19th May 1769. It



Asaf-ud-daula, who succeeded him in 1775. It is said that the Nawab, delighted with his charming manners and his mechanical skill, asked for his services, and a Military Return, dated the 30th April 1776, shows him as having been "appointed to superintend the Nawab's arsenal."⁴⁹ This, however, would seem to anticipate the actual course of events, for in the Foreign Consultations of the 13th June 1776 it was agreed:—"In consequence of the Vizier's requisition for a European Officer to superintend his Arsenal that Captain Claude Martine be permitted to accept that appointment he being recommended for the same by the Commander-in-Chief." This was confirmed in the General Orders of the 20th June 1776, and at the same time Colonel Goddard was allowed to accept the command of the English Officers in the service of the Nawab. Apparently the Nawab's request was not wholly voluntary, for in a letter, dated the 15th September 1776, Colonel

was only with difficulty that the Company persuaded him to dismiss M. Gentil and others of that nation, whom the Company suspected of intriguing against them,

⁴⁹ See Public Proceedings, 4th July 1776. No. 5.



Goddard⁵⁰ complained that the Nawab had not put the whole of the Arsenal under Captain Martin's charge. If this meant that Martin was not at first a *persona grata* with the Nawab, it was a state of affairs that did not last very long.

Though employed by the Nawab, Martin was still on the strength of his regiment, and was casually employed by the Resident on such duties as the collection of boats at Faizabad for the despatch of treasure.⁵¹

In 1778 war broke out with France and lasted till 1783. It affected Oudh only as the Company's urgent need of money caused heavier and heavier demands to be made upon the Nawab.

On the 11th September 1779⁵² Claud Martine received the rank of Major. Writing⁵³ to Lieut.-Colonel Owen, Adjutant-General, on the 24th September, he says he expected to get his majority in March 1778, though his "prospects of rise in the service as being a foreigner,"⁵⁴ were confined to that rank." In

⁵⁰ See Secret Consultations, 7th October 1776, No. 1.

⁵¹ See Public Proceedings, 22nd October 1778, No. 18.

⁵² See Public Proceedings, 16th September 1779, A.

⁵³ See Public Proceedings, 25th October 1779, No. 25.

⁵⁴ On the 19th February 1766 the Court of Directors ordered :—
" No foreign officer is to be promoted to a higher rank than Major."



this letter he encloses a Memorandum by Captain Palmer, Aide-de-Camp to the Governor, in which it is stated that though Major Martin would be glad to see active service if he were able "yet as his health by long residence in this country is much impaired, as he wishes to collect a little competency *to return home*, and as he has been at great pains and considerable expense to settle himself quietly and comfortably at Lucknow in expectation of being permitted to remain there, he wishes, notwithstanding such preferment, for permission to remain at that place, in his present employment, which will be of service to him, and an injury to no other person ; *he has been an active and spirited officer in his time*, but age advancing, in this inclement climate added to *old wounds*,⁵⁵ and former

(See 8th Report of the Committee of Secrecy.) In their General Letter of the 15th February 1765, para. 79, the Court wrote :—" We approve your reply to the remonstrance of Captain Fischer, upon your promoting Captain Knox to a Majority, as we cannot admit Foreigners being advanced above the rank of Captain in our service." The order of 1766 was therefore a concession to the foreign officers in their service.

⁵⁵ In the Preface to the translation of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, page 14, Note, it is said that Martin " though constantly employed in desperate affairs (so says the Historian Orme), was never wounded." I cannot find this statement in Orme.



hard duty will shock the best constitution. Nevertheless if his present office cannot be continued to him, though he would readily consent to discharge it with the half pay only of Major, or without any pay for that rank, he entreats at all event not to be removed from Lucknow, which would extremely injure his affairs and deprive him of all prospect of independence for years to come." He concludes by asking to be allowed to stay at Lucknow on full pay or half pay, with or without promotion. Upon this the Commander-in-Chief in a letter dated the 14th October 1779,⁵⁶ recommended Government to allow him to remain at Lucknow, with his rank, but invalided on the pay of a captain. On the 25th October⁵⁷ the Board passed the following order:—"Major Claud Martin having requested permission to remain at Lucknow exempt from the military duties of his rank which he is too infirm to execute. Ordered that he be struck off the strength of the Regiment⁵⁸ and

⁵⁶ See Public Proceedings, 25th October 1779, No. 24.

⁵⁷ See Public Proceedings, 4th March 1782, No. 29. Also General Orders of 28th October, 1779.

⁵⁸ He must have been serving at this time with a sepoy regiment as his name does not appear in the list of officers of the European infantry, published in the General Orders of the 1st October 1779, (See "History of the Bengal European Regiment," page 254, by



allowed to reside at Lucknow with his rank, and the pay and allowance only of a captain." Later on it will be seen that from 1786 he drew only half pay.

This year of 1779 marks the end of his active service under the Honourable Company and his final entry into the employment of the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. Innes). As far as I can make out Martin never commanded any Europeans except the French Volunteers.



CHAPTER IV.

LIFE AT LUCKNOW IN THE SERVICE OF THE
NAWABS-WAZIR.

On the 6th November 1779 Mr. Middleton made over charge of the Residency to Mr. C. Purling,⁵⁹ who in 1780 was ordered to make over charge to Mr. Bristow, but on the 24th November 1780, apparently under revised orders, he made over that part of his office which was concerned with money transactions between the Company and the Nawab, to Mr. Middleton, and the remainder of his office to Mr. Bathurst⁶⁰ in the absence of Mr. Eristow, who was prevented by illness from taking over charge till the 2nd February 1781.⁶¹

⁵⁹ See Public Proceedings, 13th December 1779, No. 5.

⁶⁰ See Public Proceedings, 16th January 1781, No. 32.

⁶¹ See Public Proceedings, 15th February 1781, No. 9. The meaning of this division of work was keenly appreciated by the natives at Lucknow. *Abu Talib* (page 52) writes:—"Thereafter Mr. Bristow became merely a post-office for transmission of letters on matters affecting the affairs of the Company, and the negotiations between the Governor and the Wazir, and the collection of money and the payment of it to the troops, was all entrusted to the other two," i.e., to Mr. Middleton and his assistant, Mr. Johnson.



The fertile territories of the Raja of Benares had long been coveted by the Nawabs of Oudh, but in 1775, when Asaf-ud-daula succeeded to the throne, the Company annexed the Raja's territory as the price of their protection. From this time the Raja was subjected to constantly increasing demands from the Council in Calcutta, and, finally, when Hastings himself arrived in Benares in 1781 and put the Raja under arrest, the whole country broke out into rebellion. The revolt was absolutely hopeless, but it was so unexpected that great damage was done, and it was evident that much sympathy was felt in Oudh for the Raja, the mother and grandmother⁶² of Asaf-ud-daula being especially suspected of complicity. One of the most melancholy incidents in this insurrection was the fate that befell a detachment which, under the reckless leadership of Captain James Mayaffre, entered the town of Ramnagar, though the houses and streets were held by an overwhelming force of the enemy. Captain Nokes, who commanded a

⁶² These were the Begums of Oudh, of whose alleged ill-treatment so much was made in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. According to the latter they "openly espoused the party of Chait Sing, encouraging and inviting people to enlist for his service, and their servants took up arms against the English."



battalion in Major Crawford's regiment at Buxar, wrote, on the 25th August 1781, to a friend at Dinapore. "This unfortunate gentleman had also the company of Frenchmen that Sir Eyre Coote brought from Madras, consisting of one hundred strong, who were also miserably hacked to pieces, and only fourteen of them escaped to Chunar."⁶³ The writer is, of course, wrong as to the exact history of these men. There were in fact two, if not three, companies in the English service, and probably some 300 men altogether. Some must have died of wounds and disease. Of the 150 who had deserted in 1764 almost all had perished miserably, and now the last of those who had remained loyal were destroyed in one of those "desperate actions" for which Colonel Coote originally enlisted them. They died uselessly, in a foreign country, and under a hostile flag: even their own countrymen might remember them with pity.

There is no record of any service actually rendered by Martin during these disturbances, but both he and the Resident, Mr. Middleton, were obliged "to bar-

⁶³ See "Early English Administration in Bihar," by S. Reginald Hand, page 7.



ricade their quarters and plant cannon.”⁶⁴ In the confusion which followed he was accidentally included in the General Order of the 8th November⁶⁵ and ordered “to remove to Cawnpur with all convenient expedition,” but when he, writing on the 25th January 1782, protested against these instructions on the ground that he had been given permission in 1779 to reside permanently in Lucknow, he also asked for “the honour of a Lieutenant-Colonel’s Brevet Commission with the pay as Major or Captain only.” This was granted on the 4th March 1782⁶⁶ with effect from the 21st February, and the following resolution was recorded :—“Agreed that Lieutenant-Colonel Martin be permitted to remain at Lucknow drawing only the pay and allowance which he at present receives, *viz.*, those of Captain.” It is to

⁶⁴ Letter to William Armstrong, 15th May 1790, appended to the *Seir Mutagherin*, 2. 26.

⁶⁵ By letters from Warren Hastings to Mr. Middleton (23rd September 1781 to July 1782), all Europeans, except Colonels Polier and Martin, were ordered to leave Lucknow, and even their stay was made dependent on the will of the Wazir. See Appendix to Consultations of the 28th July 1783. A certain Mr. Thomas was also permitted to stay at Lucknow at the Nawab’s particular request. See Letter from Warren Hastings to Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at Lucknow, 24th April 1782.

⁶⁶ See Public Proceedings, 4th March 1782, No. 29.



be remembered that, as he was a foreigner, he had no claim to promotion beyond the rank of Major, but not only did he receive this special promotion, but he also,⁶⁷ by an order of the Board, dated the 25th April 1782, was allowed to draw his share of the Commission on the Revenues, like Field-Officers engaged in active service.⁶⁸ As will be seen, this grant was irregular and was afterwards cancelled, but this double and extraordinary reward shows that Government had special reasons for showing him favour. As a matter of fact, the Nawab hated his mother and grandmother, but he also coveted the possessions of the Raja of Benares, and it is probable

⁶⁷ See Public Proceedings, 25th April 1782.

⁶⁸ When Martin was appointed in 1766 to serve on special duty in the survey of the Bihar roads, he was placed under Captain Louis Du Gloss, who also was a Frenchman. Captain Du Gloss retired in 1772 with the brevet rank of Major after over 20 years' service. He petitioned to be allowed the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel so that he might have some credit in his own country, but the Council, whilst acknowledging his merit, decided that all they could do was to give him a Major's Commission. The Commission on the Revenues was a charge of 2½ per cent. upon the nett revenues of the Company's dominions. This sum was divided between the Company's Servants, Military and Civil, as compensation for the privileges of trade which they had formerly enjoyed. In 1769 the total sum was Rs. 5,93,963-13-0, and a Major's share was a little less than Rs. 5,000. (See Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.)



that Martin's influence was useful in keeping him loyal at a time when his active opposition might have created great difficulty if not danger.

On the 23rd October 1782, Mr. Middleton made over charge of his duties to Mr. Bristow, who thus obtained the full powers of Resident.⁶⁹ At this time he was on very friendly terms with Martin, as later on he writes, "One day in November 1782, the Nabob-Vizier honoured me with his company to breakfast at Lieutenant-Colonel Martin's: Mr. Mooty, a follower of the camp at Futtighur, came and offered some coral to His Highness for sale, which he bought and referred to me for payment. Mr. Mooty received the money through Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, who was present when the Vizier gave me his orders." These little breakfasts at Colonel Martin's, where business, politics and pleasure were combined, will be referred to once again.

Apparently in these times visitors to India had not learnt the necessity of limiting their tours to the cold weather. *Mr. William Hodges, R. A.*,⁷⁰ tells us

⁶⁹ See Public Proceedings, 4th November 1782, No. 31.

⁷⁰ See "Travels in India, during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783" by *William Hodges, R. A.* Cap. 7, page 146.



how in May 1782 he returned from Bhagulpur to Calcutta, where the "extreme heat at this season, however, added to an assiduous application to my profession, threw me into a violent fever." He was ill for a long time, but by November his curiosity had revived, and with the Governor's permission he started for Agra on the 10th January 1783, where he so prolonged his visit that on his return journey he did not reach Lucknow till the 16th May, "when the heats and fatigue I had suffered brought on a violent dysentery, and a palpitation at the heart from which I was long in recovering. Colonel Polier received me with his wonted hospitality, and I remained with that gentleman about ten days ; my indisposition however rather increasing than abating, his house being a large bungalow, was consequently very hot, and therefore Colonel Martin, who had a large brick house, had the goodness to invite me to his, where by his great and most friendly care, and the administering of proper remedies, I gradually recovered ; *to him therefore I may now say I owe the life I at present enjoy.*"

About this time the Nawab-Wazir and his minister Haidar Beg Khan who, according to the historian

Mill, was a creature of Warren Hastings, complained to the latter that the Resident, Mr. Bristow, was encroaching on their rights and was behaving badly in many other ways. This resulted in 1784 in the temporary withdrawal of the Residency⁷¹; its duties being discharged at first by Major Palmer and then, in 1785, by Colonel Harper.⁷² The intrigue interests us only because both the Nawab and Mr. Bristow appealed to Colonel Martin to give an unbiassed opinion, and the Board called upon him to furnish an account of all he knew. He replied : "Irksome and disagreeable as it may be to me to appear in this contest, yet as it was from the best of motives that I have had anything to do in it, and totally with a view of mediating between the parties, I hope my conduct will appear proper and becoming one

⁷¹ See note 44. *Moulvi Mahummud Mussee-hood-deen* ("Oudh, its Princes and its Government Vindicated," page 14) says that the East India Company abolished the Residency on the 31st December 1783. This was the date of the letter from the Governor-General and Council to Mr. John Bristow ordering him to inform the Nawab of the withdrawal of the Residency. (*India-Papers*, 2. 225.)

⁷² See *Abu Talib*, pages 77 to 86. *Abu Talib* never mentions Martin. The extract given in the Text is from a letter by Colonel Martin, dated 24th October 1783. (See Secret Consultations, 24th November 1783, No. I.)



who was on the best terms with both ; but as from motives of delicacy (in which I flatter myself the Honourable Board will indulge me) *I wish to avoid appearing the accuser of any one*, and particularly of a person whom I have been long intimate with, I humbly beg to be excused giving in a narrative of such circumstances as may have come to my knowledge : at the same time if my testimony cannot be dispensed with, I am ready to answer all such questions as may be put to me by your Honourable Board, relative to that matter to the best of my recollection in all cases, and to support my evidence by writing in my possession, where it may be done.” Mr. Bristow’s character may be judged by the fact that regarding the words italicised he wrote to Martin, “you have wounded my reputation by styling yourself my accuser.” (*India-Papers*, 4. 367). If Major Palmer is to be believed Bristow made verbal promises to Haidar Beg through Martin and then broke them. (*India-Papers* 2. 260-3). Under such provocation it does the latter credit that whilst his answers did not satisfy Mr. Bristow, they did not satisfy Warren Hastings either. Warren Hastings could have ruined him by a word, and is said by *Mil*



to have incited the charges against Mr. Bristow, though the only proof he adduces is a request (see *Mill*, 4. 499) from the Nawab and his Minister to Sir John Macpherson, Hastings' successor, to continue the plan adopted by the latter of communicating his wishes on public matters first privately through Major Palmer, so that there might be no public disagreement between the Wazir and the Company. This request Sir John Macpherson agreed to.

*Mr. H. Compton*⁷³ tells us that in this year the great French adventurer De Boigne visited Lucknow and began his life-long friendship with Martin. As we shall see later on, they were partners in various speculations, and, in his Will, Martin mentions having bought a farm from De Boigne.

⁷³ "A particular account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan from 1784 to 1803." 1892. See also "Military Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner" by *J. Baillie Fraser*, I. 53. "For the present Mr. De Boigne, free to go where he pleased, retired to Lucknow, where by the advice of his friend, the well-known General Martine, who had made his abode there, he entered into commercial speculations, which promised a return more lucrative at least than the profession of arms, which he had so long been engaged in." *Note*. "These were continued by him to the last, even after he resumed his military occupations, and most of his fortune was remitted home, in goods, through Lisbon." De Boigne left India in 1796.



In 1784 Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Kyd was ordered by the Board to prepare the yearly list of Field-Officers who were entitled to a share in the Commission on the Revenues, and on the 14th February he submitted a list from which he had excluded the name of Colonel Martin on the ground that he was not on the active establishment, and that what he had already received was properly due to himself and Colonel Knudson. After a somewhat angry correspondence with the Board Colonel Kyd proved his point, and Martin was ordered to refund all that he had received from the 28th January 1782 to the 28th February 1784, in all Rs. 5,640. In obeying this order Martin wrote :—"I never made any particular application for that bounty, which, unsolicited, has been repeatedly granted to me. Of course I looked on it as a matter of right, and cannot but feel the hardship of refunding an allowance received, as this has been, by the sanction of a public order." It would appear as if the Board had never intended their orders to be retrospective or even to apply to the case of Colonel Martin, but found themselves bound by the wording of their previous letter which permitted him to reside at

Lucknow "with the pay and allowances of a Captain only."⁷⁴

In 1785 it appears that Martin visited Calcutta to take leave of his great and constant friend Warren Hastings.⁷⁵

In the same year the attention of the Board was drawn to the large allowances paid by the Nawab-Wazir to servants of the Company in his employment. These the Board reduced in all cases. In the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, the order ran as follows :—"Lieutenant-Colonel Martin is to draw only Lieutenant-Colonel's pay and double *Batta*. His

⁷⁴ See Public Proceedings, 14th March, No. 7; 24th March, No. 5; 21st April, No. 15; and 27th May, 1785, No. 36. I have searched in vain for any correspondence between Martin and Colonel Kyd, when the latter was in charge of the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta. Martin did correspond with his successor, Dr. Roxburgh, as I have said in the text. Possibly this little incident prevented or interrupted a natural friendly acquaintance. Roxburgh (III, 190) writes of Colonel Kyd "the late Colonel Robert Kyd of Bengal, whose attachment to botany and horticulture induced him to retire from the high rank he held in the army, to have more leisure to attend to his favourite study, to the advancement of every object which had the good of his fellow-creatures in view, and to the establishment of the Honourable East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, where he was particularly attentive to the introduction of useful plants, and to their being dispersed over every part of the world, for the good of mankind in general.

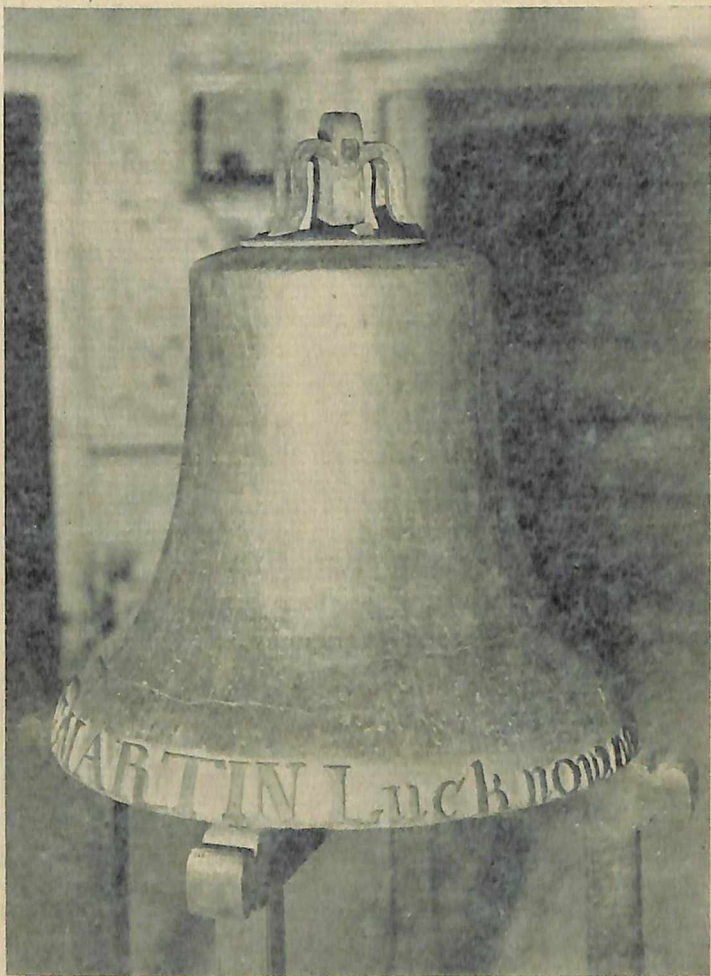
⁷⁵ See Preface to the *Seir Mutaqherin*.



Excellency will of course defray the expenses of his own Arsenal."⁷⁶ In the General Letter to the Court of Directors reporting this it is stated that Lieutenant-Colonel Martin was to draw from the Nawab "only the difference between his pay and *Batta* as a Captain which he receives from the Company and the pay and *Double Batta* of his rank as Lieutenant-Colonel."

The year 1786 brought a further diminution in his income. The Military Consultations of the 2nd June record a decision of the Council that "Lieutenant-Colonels Polier and Martine ought not to be included in the number of twelve Lieutenant-Colonels allotted to the infantry by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. It is, therefore, resolved that they be put on half pay."

⁷⁶ See letter to Major William Palmer at Lucknow, 3rd May 1785, in the Secret Consultations of the same date and General Letter to Court, dated 31st July 1785. In a letter (See *India-Papers*, 2,323-8) dated the 27th March 1785, from Major Palmer to the Governor-General, Martin's allowances as keeper of the Arsenal, pay, *batta*, &c., are put down as Rs. 3,730. From the Proceedings of the Secret Inspection Department, 3rd May 1785, we see that a Lieutenant-Colonel's pay with its double *batta* alone amounted to Rs. 1,488. So Martin probably did not lose much. On the other hand, Mr. Blanc, Surgeon to the Wazir, drew the handsome allowance of Rs. 5,000 (reduced from Rs. 8,000) which the unfeeling Board cut down to Rs. 684.



BELL CAST BY CLAUD MARTIN
AT LUCKNOW, 1786.
IN THE CRYPT OF CONSTANTIA.



On the 1st February 1787, the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dined at the Orphan House in Calcutta, and took his seat as a Governor of the Society. Amongst the guests at the dinner was Colonel Martin. The same paper⁷⁷ which records this fact contains a list of subscribers for an asylum for *Female Protestant Children*, in which Colonel Martin appears as subscribing Rs. 200. These two facts are proof that he did not entirely postpone his charity to the day of his death. They show also the particular form which his benefactions were likely to take. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th July 1787 appear the proceedings of a Select Vestry held at the new Church on the 28th June. These include a "List of boys now maintained by the Charity Fund" and a "List of boys placed out from the Charity School." In the former list is a boy named James Martin, probably the young Georgian boy whom (see Martin's Will, para. 7) his father left with Martin on the receipt of a sum of money which he obtained to enable him to return to his country. Martin's mistress, Boulone, adopted the boy, and when he grew up Martin sent him to Calcutta to be educated. The

⁷⁷ *Calcutta Gazette*, 8th February 1787.



ultimate result of this kindness was so satisfactory that Martin left him a handsome pension on condition of his acting as general manager for all his female dependants. The immediate effect however of Martin's buying him from his father had been that he found himself obliged to support his mother and brother as well. In the second list occurs the following entry :—" Harris, John, March 1st, 1785. Bound by indenture to Lieutenant-Colonel Martin for five years, his master covenants to find him every necessity during the term." It is not impossible that his connection with this Charity suggested to Martin the inclusion of female children in his Schools. He seems to have had a passion for educating children—we even find him helping a poor friend to send his son to England.

On the 1st October Mr. E. Otto Ives took over charge of the Residency from Colonel Gabriel Harper, and so put an end to the temporary military arrangement.⁷⁸ Lord Cornwallis said that he had

⁷⁸ Letter to the Secret Committee, 19th August 1787. *Abu Talib* does not mention Mr. Ives by name, but he is evidently represented under the designation which Mr. Hoey translates as Mr. F. and which I suppose stands for Falana Sahib or Falana Hazrat, i.e., Mr. So-and-So.



been perfectly satisfied with Colonel Harper's work, but thought his services would be more advantageous to the Company "if he were at the head of a brigade."

On the 1st March 1788, the Governor-General issued an order prohibiting Civil and Military Officers of the Company as well as all other Europeans from going up-country beyond Buxar without a Pass.⁷⁹

In this year Martin had a curious experience of the petty worries of service under a native Prince. The Nawab had undertaken to pay a subsidy of 50 lakhs to the Company for the expenses of the Field Force. His Minister, knowing that the Company held Martin in high favour, and would be unlikely to put him to unnecessary inconvenience, suddenly informed him that in future his salary would be paid by the Company out of the subsidy. The Resident reported the matter to the Governor-General, who, whilst he refused to tolerate the Minister's attempt to evade State responsibilities, wrote :—"You will also explain fully to Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, that, *with every inclination to do justice to his personal*

⁷⁹ See "The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company,"
I. 118, by W. H. Carey.



merit and services, I am restricted by former regulations of this Government from granting any sum to him beyond his half-pay from the Company's funds." Incidentally this correspondence is interesting because it shows that beside the half-pay referred to Martin received Rs. 48 per diem as pay and *Batta* from the Nawab.⁸⁰ In the Military Department Proceedings of the 18th April 1829 it is stated that his half-pay as Lieutenant-Colonel was, from 1st April 1787 to 30th April 1800, Rs. 4 per diem, and that he drew half *Batta* at the rate of Rs. 10 per diem, so that his official pay from the Company and the Nawab amounted to Rs. 1,860 per mensem, at a time when the Sicca rupee was worth two shillings and sixpence. How Martin came to draw anything more from the Company than the half-pay of a Captain cannot be ascertained. It would seem as if the Accountants-General of that age could now and then close their eyes at the right moment.

In the same year it appears that the Resident was much annoyed by the Nawab and his Minister receiving personal applications from Europeans living in

⁸⁰ See Secret and Political Department Proceedings, 12th May 1788, Nos. 3 and 4.



Lucknow. At Mr. Ives' instance Government forbade this practice but the Governor-General wrote :⁹¹ "I said in my last letter, dated the 16th instant, that no European must be permitted to visit the Nabob or his Minister without previous application to you, but as Colonel Martine has been long in His Excellency's service, with the consent of this Government, I do not mean to include him in the general regulation." It is evident that Government looked upon Colonel Martin as its own agent, even though he was not publicly acknowledged as such. A somewhat comical turn is given to this complaint of Mr. Ives, by what happened in 1789. The Nawab being offended with an English merchant of the name of Read, *who held a passport from the Governor-General*, suddenly decided to expel all English merchants from his territories, saying that they might do their business by means of native agents, and Mr. Ives reported that the real reason of this violent action was that when an English merchant approached the Nawab *through the Resident* with a request for payment his request could not be ignored.

⁹¹ See Secret and Political Department Proceedings, 20th June 1788, No. 3.



Of course the Nawab was told politely but firmly that he must never again even entertain the idea of issuing such an order.⁸²

In 1789 De Boigne temporarily left the service of Scindia, and visited Lucknow. By Martin's advice he invested his savings in various commercial speculations. *Saint-Génis* says these were connected with indigo, leather, rosewater, gold and silver in bars, diamonds, cloth and silk, and other articles of great value and easily portable.

In 1790 the Company was involved in war with Tipu Sultan, and Martin was asked by Lord Cornwallis to purchase remounts for the Cavalry.⁸³ In doing this he at the same time presented the Company, at his own expense, with sufficient horses to mount a complete troop.

In 1791 Claud Martin, like so many Indigo planters since, found himself involved in quarrels and litigation. From his own statement⁸⁴ it would appear that a Mr. Masseyk was unwilling to repay large sums of

⁸² See Public Proceedings, 6th July 1789, Nos. 5 and 6. Letters to and from Mr. Ives.

⁸³ Letter from Lord Cornwallis to Mr. Ives, 5th November 1790. (Political Proceedings, 6th November 1790, No. 4.)

⁸⁴ See Political Consultations, 21st January 1791, Nos. 13 to 19.



money lent him for Indigo cultivation. As Martin could not obtain any redress against Europeans at Lucknow, he appealed to the Resident to ask the Nawab to send Mr. Masseyk⁸⁵ to Calcutta under arrest, in order that he might there prosecute him in the Supreme Court through his attorneys, Messrs. Cockrell and Traill. The Resident refused to interfere, and, in the Colonel's opinion, openly favoured the debtor. In the meantime his attorneys appealed to Mr. Hay, Secretary to Government. The Resident was supported by Government in his refusal to interfere, and Mr. Ives used this decision to save himself from interfering later on in a quarrel between two French gentlemen, Messieurs Loustaunau and Fortier,⁸⁶ the latter of whom he describes "as being concerned with Colonel Martin in an Indigo plantation." M. Loustaunau wished M. Fortier to be arrested just as Colonel Martin had wished Mr. Masseyk. It is

⁸⁵ If Mr. Masseyk did go to Calcutta, which is uncertain, he is possibly the gentleman of that name mentioned in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 1st. September 1791, as having been attacked in his palanquin, near the Fort, by eight Europeans, supposed to be soldiers, who, after wounding him severely, took from him his shoe-buckles and every valuable he had about him.

⁸⁶ Letter from Mr. Ives to Lord Cornwallis, 12th June 1791, Public Proceedings, 22nd June 1791, Nos. 4 and 5.



evident that Mr. Ives, whatever his personal relations with the Lucknow Europeans may have been, did not wish to have anything to do with their quarrels, and perhaps every Resident at a native Court will sympathise with him. This Mr. Masseyk⁸⁷ was a man of some wealth and influence, and a large dealer in Indigo; for when in 1789 his Calcutta agent, Mr. Matthew Mendes, proposed himself and Mr. Richard Johnson as "securities for the engagement which Mr. Thomas Masseyk has proposed to enter into with the Honourable Company for the provision of Indigo," the Board refused to accept Mr. Johnson *because he was a member of the Board of Revenue.*

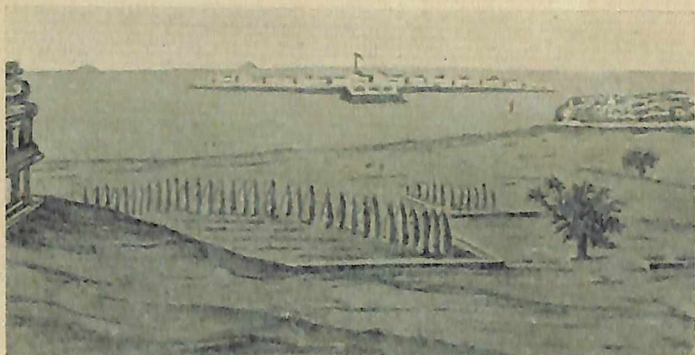
In February⁸⁸ Martin left Lucknow to join the Army marching against Tipu Sultan, and in the next month the remainder of the horses he had given to the Company, 106 in number, passed through Calcutta on their way for embarkation to Madras. That these horses were a handsome present may be inferred from the fact that, in spite of their long

⁸⁷ *Saint-Génis* in his "Une Page inédite de l'histoire des Indes, Le Général de Boigne" (1873), page 288, writes "le banquier Massik de Lucknow." See also Public Proceedings, 17th April 1789, No. 22.

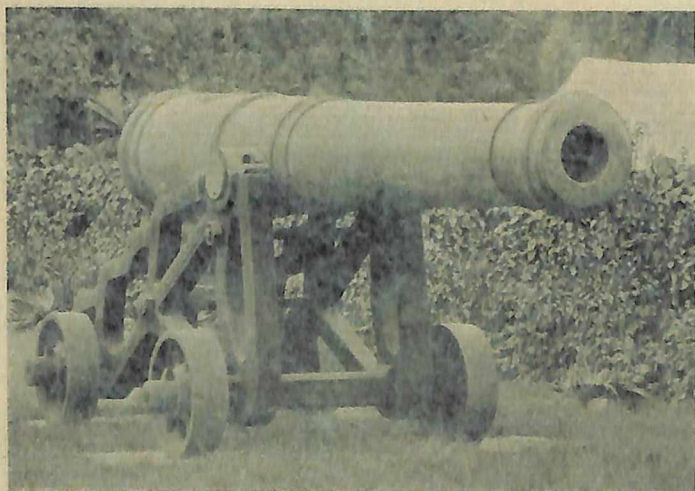
⁸⁸ See *Calcutta Gazette*, 10th February and 10th March 1791.



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SOUTHERLY VIEW OF BANGALORE BY COL. CLAUD MARTIN
WITH
CYPRESS GARDEN OF TIPU SULTAN IN THE FOREGROUND.



GUN CAST BY COLONEL MARTIN AND USED IN THE
SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.



march, they excited admiration by the excellent condition they were in. His departure did not stop his suit against Mr. Masseyk, the prosecution of it being left in the hands of a Mr. Dabort, for whom his Agents gave security.

Major H. M. Vibart tells us that Lieutenant-Colonel Martin and Mr. King acted as Commissaries of Provisions.⁸⁹ The question of supplies was one of Lord Cornwallis' chief difficulties, and in this service Martin must have had great opportunities of showing energy and ability without incurring the jealousy of other officers who had remained all along in active service, and who would have resented his being intrusted with an active command. At the same time Martin was not the man to lose any chance that offered, and the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th January 1792, tells us he accompanied the Chief Engineer, Colonel Ross, when the latter was ordered to reconnoitre the almost impregnable fortress of Severndroog in November of the previous year. Colonel Ross was not satisfied with merely reconnoitring the place, but assaulted and captured the Pettah or town close to the Fort.

⁸⁹ *Major H. M. Vibart*, "Military History of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers," Vol. I, page 256.

In the Order of Battle of the Army commanded by Lord Cornwallis, dated 1st February 1792, the last named of the Aides-de-Camp is Lieutenant-Colonel Martin.⁹⁰ He took part in the attack on Tipu's camp on the night of the 6th February, being in personal attendance on Lord Cornwallis, who was slightly wounded. *Dirom*⁹¹ mentions him in these terms :—" Lieutenant-Colonel Martin who, though at an advanced age, and independent in his fortune, had come from the service of the Vizir in Bengal to assist in this interesting war." A further reference to his share in the fighting is to be found in his Will, where in section 15 he mentions "the faithful service and attachment of Matchoo⁹² and Chutta Kadder, who have followed me in all the war against Tipu, in all the danger of it."

Whilst serving in Mysore Martin had his eyes open to everything that was to be seen. As a Commissary of Provisions he naturally noted the

⁹⁰ See "A Narrative of the Campaign in India," 1793, by Major Alexander Dirom.

⁹¹ See *Dirom*, Cap. III, page 166.

⁹² His grandson is still alive and in receipt of the pension left to Matchoo's descendants by the General.



food of the cattle, and so in *Roxburgh's* "Flora Indica" (I. 277) we find the following entry :—

"*Andropogon Martini*. A native of the highlands of Balla-Ghat. General Martin collected the seeds while there with the army, during the last war with Tippoo Sultan, and has reared abundance of it at Lucknow. It is also now plentiful in the Company's Botanic Garden, raised from seed sent thence by that gentleman, *whose name I have applied as a specific one for this elegant plant*. General Martin writes to the following effect :—' I took particular notice of a sort of long grass which the cattle were voraciously fond of, which is of so strong an aromatic and pungent taste, that the flesh of the animals, as also the milk and butter, have a very strong scent of it. Of this grass I send you a small stalk, some roots and seed if you taste the latter though old, you will find it of a very pungent aromatic taste.' "

Another entry (II. 369) is more nearly connected with actual warfare :—" *Caesalpina Sepiaria*. A native of Mysore.....The *Mysore Thorn* was introduced into Bengal from that country by General Martin, where it is now as common as it is in the



Mysore country, and is used to make fences This when in full blossom is ornamental and well deserving a place in the gardens of all such as are fond of showy productions. It also makes an excellent fence, and as such was much employed by Hyder Alli in the bound-hedges of his forts and other strongholds."

Besides collecting specimens of these plants, which were connected to a certain extent with his military duties, he found time to examine into the production of Indigo in Madras and on the 1st April 1791 he sent to the Asiatic Society his account of Indigo cultivation at Ambore which I have given in full elsewhere. His general interest in Botanical matters is shown by the fact that *Roxburgh* records his introduction into the Botanic Garden of *Cordia Latifolia* and *Ficus Caricoides*, both of which are, I believe, up-country trees, and also of *Andropogon Miliaceus* and *Artemisia Elegans*.

On the 5th June died Haider Beg Khan, the Nawab's minister and favourite. His position in Oudh was such that the Court of Directors, writing to the Governor-General, on the 8th April 1789, remarked "from the known character of Assophul Dowlah,



Hyder Beg can be considered in no other light than as being at present in the complete and absolute possession of the country." The Court seemed unable to make up its mind whether Haider Beg was the victim or the cause of the bad system of Government which had ruined Oudh.

Next year gave Martin the rank of Colonel. In the *Asiatic Annual Register*, and, still more offensively, in the *Bengal Obituary*, it is sneeringly stated that this promotion was in return for his gift of horses *three years before*, but the order of Council in the Military Department, dated the 4th February 1793, runs as follows :—"Resolved that Lieutenant-Colonel Claud Martin be promoted to the rank of Colonel, to take rank as such from the 30th of January 1793, next above Colonel John Forbes, until the pleasure of the Honourable Court of Directors shall be known. The Governor-General in Council is at the same time pleased to direct that it be noticed in General Orders that Colonel Martin's promotion is intended to convey *an honorary mark of approbation of the zeal and exertion which were manifested by that officer during the late war*, without giving him claims to other allowances in future, beyond those



that he enjoys at present or to any command in the line."

On the 12th February 1794, Mr. Ives sent in his resignation, and on the 20th March he was succeeded by Mr. G. F. Cherry.

In the year 1795 Mr. Henry Hudson, mezzotint engraver, visited India, and in a letter dated the 26th January,⁹⁸ applied to the Governor-General for permission to visit Lucknow, as he had received from Colonel Claud Martin a letter "in which he grants me the loan of any pictures in his collection for the purpose of engraving, several of which will be very profitable to me, and fulfil every object I proposed to myself in coming to this country." After Mr. Hudson had gone through the further formality of obtaining the consent of the Nawab-Wazir to visit Lucknow, he received the Governor's permission on the 2nd March "under the usual engagement that his absence from the Presidency shall not exceed a specified period—two years." Almost all record of Martin's collection is lost, but it speaks well for the taste of a quondam "*ranker*" that it

⁹⁸ See Public Proceedings, 26th January 1795, No. 10, and 2nd March, Nos. 10 and 11.



should have attracted the attention of an artist of European reputation. Some of his biographers say Martin took no pleasure in spending his fortune. One wonders what they would have had him spend it upon.

A few years ago a book was published entitled "Notes and Reminiscences by Thomas Twining."⁹⁴ Mr. Twining was a Civil Servant of the Honourable East India Company, and in January 1795 he visited Lucknow. He thus describes a visit to Colonel Martin:—"In the afternoon we were introduced to Colonel Martin, an officer who had acquired considerable celebrity in this part of India. He is a native of Lyons in France, but has long resided at Lucknow, where he has a command in the Nawab's army."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ "Travels in India a hundred years ago . . . being notes and reminiscences by *Thomas Twining*." Published in 1893 by the *Rev. W. Twining*.

⁹⁵ Martin does not appear to have ever held any command in the Nawab's army, unless his charge of the Arsenal can be considered as such. In the *Military Calendar* (II. 457) it is stated that "he was admitted into the confidence of the Vizier, and in the different changes which took place in the councils of His Highness, as well as in the various negotiations with the English Government, M. Martine was his secret adviser; he seldom, however, appeared at the Durbar, and he never held any ostensible situation in the administration of the Nawab's government; but



Though not ostensibly so, he may, I believe, be considered *His Highness's chief military counsellor, as well as his adviser in political affairs*. We found him in a large and elegant mansion, lately built by himself, on the banks of the Goomty, the river which flows by Lucknow. The house had the appearance of a fortified castle, and was indeed constructed with a view to defence, with draw-bridges, loop-holes and turrets, and water, when desired, all round. The Colonel was extremely civil, and conducted us through the principal parts of his singular building. The most handsome room was one which he had constructed over the river itself,⁹⁶ the exterior wall resting upon pillars,⁹⁷ placed nearly in the middle of the

few measures of importance were adopted without his advice being previously taken." That the common belief was otherwise is shown by the fact that in the *Bengal Directory and Almanack* for 1797 he is stated to be "in command of the Vizier's troops."

⁹⁶ "Boats passed under the room in which we dined." *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*, by his son. 1824—1843. Under date 26th February 1797.

⁹⁷ I think there can be no doubt that this house is the Farhad Buxsh. *Mr. Sykes*, Principal of the Lucknow La Martinière, writes to me :—"It is now evident that the Farhad Buxsh was once far larger and very different from what it is at the present moment. With your records we can to some extent plot out the original basement. Of the "exterior wall resting on pillars placed nearly in the middle of the Goomty," the massive piers on which



Goomty, whose stream thus flowed through his house. The Colonel being a very ingenious man, and possessing the insinuating manners of his country, had long been in favour with the reigning princes of Oudh. Although, therefore, he had not been such a warrior and conqueror of states as his neighbour,⁹⁸ General De Boigne, there seemed to be nothing improbable in the reports which prevailed as to the extent of his private fortune. He concluded a most polite reception by inviting us to see another mansion he was then completing, a few miles from Lucknow. . . .

. . . . Before breakfast this morning I rode with Dr. Lowe to see Colonel Martin's other residence, to which he has given the name of Constantia. It is a palace on a very extensive scale, but in which the singularity of the Colonel's taste is chiefly discernible. It had not yet been inhabited, the upper part of it not being completed. Under the principal apartment are subterraneous rooms, intended

these pillars were built are still in existence almost in the middle of the Gumti, and are always distinctly visible at low water. I have seen them many a time : and nobody, up to the present, has in recent times known what those round masses of masonry were, or why they were located in the middle of the river.'

⁹⁸ "Neighbour in Europe. Seen from India, Chambéry and Lyons seem to touch." *T. Twining.*



for the hot season. This plan of living underground during the hot months being quite experimental, it would perhaps have been more reasonable to make the trial on a less expensive scale. The heat and smoke and smell arising from the number of lamps necessary to light the dark chambers and passages, seemed alone sufficient to render the success of the scheme more than doubtful. In the middle of the largest of these dark rooms the Colonel had already raised his tomb, and the number of lights to be burned there, night and day, *for ever*, and the sum to be allotted for this purpose, were already mentioned, but it was not said what was to be the state and distinction of the immense structure above when its eccentric founder should have taken possession of his narrow chamber below."

In the same year Martin received further promotion to the rank of Major-General, with effect from the 26th February 1795,⁹⁹ the Minutes of Council in the Military Department containing, under date 30th May 1796, the following Resolution:—
Resolved that the promotion of Colnel Martin

⁹⁹ See Minutes of Council, in the Military Department, 1st May 1796.

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BUST OF GENERAL MARTIN
IN THE
GARDEN OF CONSTANTIA.



to the rank of Major-General be declared to be granted him from the same motives and under the same qualifications as his promotion to the rank of Colonel in the Minutes of Council of the 4th February 1793." *M. Sachot* says Martin was now advised to have himself naturalised as an Englishman, but refused saying *that he had been born a Frenchman and would die one*. *M. Sachot* does not give his authority for this statement, but it is evident that Martin did so avow his determination, for otherwise there would have been no difficulty in the way of his promotion. It is, however, more probable that the proposal was made when he had reached the rank of Major which was the limit of promotion for a foreigner.¹⁰⁰

On the 4th July 1796 Mr. John Lumsden took over charge of the Residency, Mr. Cherry being removed to Benares for "*mistaken zeal in the prosecution of the objects of Sir John Shore's instructions*."

In this year General De Boigne finally retired from the service of Scindia. He stayed five months in Lucknow on his way to Calcutta to settle his affairs,

¹⁰⁰ See Note 54.



leaving in Martin's charge such as he could not dispose of at once, as well as the administration of the property in land which the Raja of Jeypore had given him.¹⁰¹ It is probably in connection with this that in 1797 De Boigne's accounts showed Martin to be indebted to him to the extent of 71,000 livres, this sum representing the amount which Martin had still to remit.¹⁰² Scindia made many efforts to induce De Boigne to re-enter his service, and as late as 1799 we find him corresponding with him through Martin and assuring him that his *jaghire* remains free from all Government taxes and in the full possession of Martin's agents.¹⁰³

In noticing Martin's presence at the Siege of Seringapatam when he was still under sixty, *Major Dirom* described him as of advanced age, but, whatever his appearance, he must have been a man of active habits in spite of the disease of stone which afflicted him for many years, for on the 3rd July 1797

¹⁰¹ See *G. M. Raymond*, *Mémoire sur la carrière militaire et politique de M. le Général Comte de Boigne*, lu à la Société Royale Académique de Savoie dans la Séance du 24 Octobre 1829, page 75, Note.

¹⁰² See *Saint-Génis*, page 236, Note.

¹⁰³ See *Raymond*, page 124, Note and Appendix.



his agents applied to the Board for a pass for two fowling pieces and two pair of pistols. The latter item is to be accounted for by the fact that the Governor-General had already determined to employ him on active service.

In October¹⁰⁴ we find General Martin complaining to the Resident on behalf of certain native bankers who had lent "five lacks of Rupees to Government on the 12 per cent. loan" under the impression that the interest would be paid in Lucknow. His request that this should be done was refused on the ground of a possible strain upon the Lucknow Treasury, but the tone of the Resident's letter to the Board shows that he, at any rate, was on good terms with the General, and the fact of the latter making such a request marks the position he held as representative of the native bankers. At the same time as this connection has been held to be corroborative evidence of his money-loving propensities, it is rather amusing to find that in October 1798 the supposed miser lost the interest for twenty days on 6,40,000 rupees by his carelessness in not presenting his Government notes

¹⁰⁴ See Public Proceedings, 16th October 1797, Nos. 8, 9, 9a.



for renewal on the right day, and that he was only saved from a similar loss upon a sum of fifty thousand rupees in the following year by the Accountant-General, Mr. Myers, showing him special favour.¹⁰⁵

In September 1797 died Asaf-ud-daula,¹⁰⁶ so long his friend and employer. His weak but kindly character is thus painted by *Mr. Lewis Ferdinand Smith*¹⁰⁷ :—

“Mild in manners, polite and affable in his conduct, he possessed no great mental powers ; his heart was good, considering his education, which instilled the most despotic ideas. He was fond of lavishing treasures on gardens, palaces, horses, elephants, European guns, lustres, and mirrors. He expended every year about two hundred thousand pounds in English manufactures. This Nabob had more than a hundred gardens, twenty palaces, twelve hundred elephants, three thousand fine saddle horses, fifteen hundred double-barrel guns, seventeen hundred

¹⁰⁵ See Public Proceedings, 25th July 1799, Nos. 13 and 14.

¹⁰⁶ *Moulvi Mohummud Mussee-hood-deen* (page 26) says that Asaf-ud-daula died of a broken heart because Sir John Shore demanded an increase of 5½ lakhs in his subsidy to the Company. This is not even a likely story.

¹⁰⁷ See *James Forbes*, “Oriental Memoirs,” 1813, Vol. 3, page 284.



superb lustres, thirty thousand shades of various form and colour; several hundred large mirrors, girandoles and clocks; some of the latter were very curious, richly set with jewels, having figures in continual movement, and playing tunes every hour; two of these clocks cost him thirty thousand pounds. Without taste or judgment, he was extremely solicitous to possess all that was elegant and rare; he had instruments and machines of every art and science, but he knew none; and his museum was so ridiculously displayed, that a wooden cuckoo clock was placed close to a superb time-piece which cost the price of a diadem; and a valuable landscape of Claude Lorraine suspended near a board painted with ducks and drakes. He sometimes gave a dinner to ten or twelve persons sitting at their ease in a carriage drawn by elephants. His harem contained about five hundred of the greatest beauties of India, immured in high walls which they were never to leave, except on their biers. He had an immense number of domestic servants, and a very large army, besides being fully protected from hostile invasion by the Company's subsidiary forces, for which he paid five hundred thousand



pounds per annum. His jewels amounted to about eight millions sterling. I saw him in the midst of this precious treasure, handling them as a child does his toys."

The *Oudh Gazetteer* tells us : "The people are never tired of talking of the liberality of Asaf-ud-daula and his munificence. His name is first on the lips of the Banian, and as he takes his seat in his shop in the morning, he is wont to repeat a distich, somewhat profane, in his honour :—

" To whom the Lord does not give,
Asaf-ud-daula will."

Asaf-ud-daula was succeeded by his reputed son Wazir Ali, but after a few months the latter was deposed by the Governor-General, and in January 1798 Sadat Ali, half-brother of Asaf-ud-daula, was made Nawab. Some years before he had failed in an attempt to dethrone his brother and at this time was a refugee in English territory.

In 1796 Zaman Shah, King of Kabul and Kandahar, advanced as far as Lahore and even threatened Delhi, and now, in 1798, his renewed approach was a source of so much apprehension that Major-General Sir James Craig was forced to call upon the Nawab



to send all his troops from Lucknow. On the 8th December 1798 he wrote as follows to the Resident, Mr. John Lumsden,¹⁰⁸ regarding the defence of the river :—" The occupying the posts necessary for the defence of the fords will require much military knowledge and abilities, and as I am given to understand that General Martine has *in a manner becoming all his former conduct through life* offered his services in any way in which it may be thought that he can be useful, I should think myself fortunate if it could be so arranged with the Nabob that his troops in Rohilcund should be put under the General's orders to be employed in this service and that the latter would proceed without delay to the discharge of this trust. I have a delicacy arising from our peculiar situation in writing to the General on the subject in the first instance, but I beg that you will assure him that he may rely on my cordial co-operation, and on every assistance that I can give him." The Nawab at Lucknow was so terrified for his personal safety that he did all in his power to retain the Company's troops there, and when the Residen

¹⁰⁸ See Political Department Consultations, 24th December 1798, No. 25.



asked for the services of General Martin on the ground that this appointment was also recommended in Calcutta,¹⁰⁹ he would give no reply, nor would he answer a letter on the subject till a week later, when he gave his consent. After all there was no fighting to be done, for Zaman Shah commenced his retreat from Lahore in January 1799, and the rest of the General's life was spent in the partial completion of his palace-tomb outside Lucknow, which he called Luckparra or Constantia, and in doing what he could to persuade the Nawab-Wazir to submit quietly to the Company's resolve to replace his disorderly army by a force entirely under their own control. Sadat Ali was so opposed to this painful, but necessary, measure that he even entertained thoughts of abdication.

These last days of Martin's life were sad ones. France and England had been at war since 1793, and now in 1798 England stood almost alone against the Continent. In India the English shared the patriotic excitement of their countrymen at home, and not only the English but even native merchants and soldiers subscribed to the War Fund. Naturally the name of the

¹⁰⁹ See Secret Department Consultations, 13th January 1779, No. 7.



brave old Frenchman is not to be found on the Lists. Standing as he did between two nations whom circumstances had made rivals and enemies he reserved his aid for those who suffered in Peace and not in War.

On the 3rd August 1799 Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott¹¹⁰ took over charge of the office of Resident at Lucknow, and on the 1st January 1800,¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Colonel Scott's brother, Captain Jonathan Scott, translated, in 1786, the Memoirs of Eradut Khan, a nobleman of Hindustan. A copy of this work, stamped on the title page in heavy black letters with the name "Claud Martin," is in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

¹¹¹ See *Mr. Money's Amended Report*:—"And I further find and report to the Honourable Court, that I have taken evidence as to the execution of the Will of the said Major-General Claude Martin, by which it appears that on the 1st day of January, 1800, the said General Claude Martin had twenty-four or twenty-five persons at his house at Lucknow, who had assembled there by invitation; that after the party had assembled, he took William Scott, a Colonel in the military service of the East India Company, and then the Resident at Lucknow, into a separate room, and ordered a person of the name of Zulphikar, *alias* James Martin, who resided with the said General Claude Martin, to call into the said room David Lumsden, a captain in the East India Company's military service, who accordingly went there, accompanied by the said Zulphikar and John Reed, a surgeon in the Company's said service; after which a candle having been brought, General Martin said to Colonel Scott, 'You must be a witness to my Will'; General Martin bowed to the other two gentlemen; General Martin then signed his name to a paper which he said was his



he with Captain David Lumsden and Surgeon John Reed witnessed General Martin's Will, an extraordinary document of 34 articles, which is at once a profession of faith, an apology for his life, and a Will. That he was in good health at this time is shown by the fact that on the 6th January Colonel Scott came to breakfast with him in order to meet the Wazir and discuss the increase of the Company's troops in Oudh.¹¹²

Up to June it is evident that the General was equal to the transaction of ordinary business, for there still exist receipts for two Bills of Exchange, dated the 31st May and the 7th June respectively. These with a few other business papers are the only specimens of his handwriting to be found in the Government Records. The particular receipts mentioned show no sign of feebleness in the writer.

He died, it is believed, of stone, on the 13th September. On the following day Colonel Scott wrote

Will, and having put a seal to it, presented it to Mr. Lumsden saying, 'This is my Will.' Mr. Lumsden then signed it, John Reed and Colonel Scott both also signed their names to the paper ; General Martin then put the paper into his writing-desk."

¹¹² See Letter from Mr. William Scott to the Right Honourable Earl of Mornington, 6th January 1800.



as follows to Mr. G. H. Barlow, Chief Secretary to Government: "It is with concern that I report to you for the information of the Most Noble the Governor General in Council the Decease of Major-General Claud Martin last Night about 10 o'clock. In pursuance to directions on the Cover, a large Packet containing the Will of the deceased was opened this Morning in my Presence." It is a pity that Colonel Scott did not mention the cause of death, but it appears from other reports made by him on similar occasions, that he simply used a regular official form.¹¹³

Martin's death took place in the Farhad Buksh,¹¹⁴ which was his town residence, and his body was embalmed and buried in the vault prepared for it in his other house Constantia. It is said that he caused his tomb to be prepared in Constantia because the Nawab, on his refusal to sell him the house, had plainly hinted that he would take it when he died, a threat which could be obviated only by turning it into a tomb, since no Mohammedan would dare use a house so

¹¹³ See Public Proceedings, 25th September 1800.

¹¹⁴ That is in the house the remaining portion of which is now known as the Farhad Buksh.



consecrated as a dwelling place. This is probably only one of the many stories which were circulated in Lucknow as illustrations of Martin's supposed craftiness. As a matter of fact Constantia was not completed at the time of his death, and *Mr. Twining's* account (see pages 73-74) shows that the tomb was included in the original scheme and was not an afterthought. Further, if the covetous Nawab was Asaf-ud-daula, he died before Martin; if Sadat Ali, he was a refugee in English territory till long after the tomb had been completed.¹¹⁵

In 1831 *Lady Fanny Parks* visited Lucknow and thus describes the tomb :—"The monument stands in the vault, a bust of the General adorns it. Lights¹¹⁶ are constantly burned before the tomb. The figures of four *sipahis*, large as life, with their arms reversed,

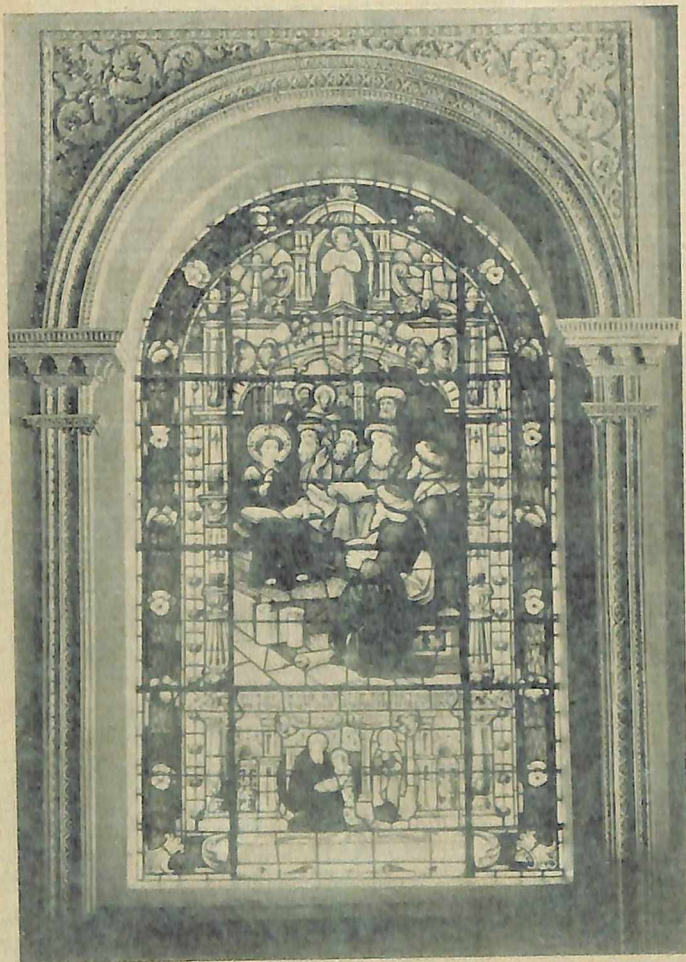
¹¹⁵ I think this Indian version of Naboth's vineyard must have been connected with the Farhad Buksh, which Sadat Ali did get possession of after Martin's death. *Lord Valentia* (I. 166) says that Mr. Quieros, Martin's clerk, had the impertinence to outbid the Nawab at the auction of this building, and the Nawab made things so unpleasant for him that Mr. Quieros was only too glad when he condescended to purchase it.

¹¹⁶ *Captain Mundy*, Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, passed through Lucknow in 1833, and visited the tomb, noticing like *Lady Parks* the burning tapers and plaster sipahis. See "A Tour in India," page 38.



CSL

STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN THE CHANCEL,
 CONSTANTIA.



IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF
 MAJOR-GENERAL CLAUD MARTIN, H.E.I.C.S.,
 THE FOUNDER OF THIS COLLEGE. DIED THE 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1800.
(Erected by Boys and Old Boys of the College.)



stand in niches at the sides of the monument.” Though *Mr. Twining* mentions that even in 1795 Martin had arranged for the perpetual burning of lamps at his tomb, there is no provision in his Will for anything except its guardianships, the lamps therefore were probably only the simple signs of native affection, and it is said that the sepoy statues were due to the strange taste of one of his executors. In 1857 mutineers or *badmashes* broke open the tomb in search of treasure, but the scattered bones were restored to their resting place by Colonel Saunders Alexius Abbott who was appointed Commissioner of Lucknow on the 29th April 1858.¹¹⁷

It is commonly believed that General Martin was present at the Capture of Seringapatam in 1799, but his name does not appear in any of the lists of Officers present with the English army. Yet we see

¹¹⁷ See *New Calcutta Directory* for 1859, Part X, page 153. In reference to this act of pious charity, *Mr. Sykes* writes to me:—“After the Mutiny the body of General Martin, which had been dug up by the budmashes, was, as far as possible, reburied in the vaults, but certain parts were missing. Some of these were afterwards found amongst the débris when the place was cleared up; and these parts, the fore-arm and other pieces, were afterwards buried in a little velvet covered coffin in the same grave as the larger box, which was allowed to remain as it was.



from his Will, in which he talks of the possibility of dying "in the field of honour against an enemy," that his love of his profession had in no degree abated, and the particular provision which he makes for the relief of distressed soldiers shows that at heart he was always a soldier before everything else. Amongst Lord Wellesley's letters is one dated the 18th July 1800, thanking General Martin for a letter of congratulation and a map. It concludes:—"I should have been happy to have had the pleasure of returning you my thanks in person : but as I now find that the affairs of the Government must detain me at Fort William I take this method of assuring you that I retain a just sense of your flattering congratulations, and of the interest which you take in the glorious success of the British arms in Mysore. I have, &c., &c." It is possible that Martin prepared the map mentioned in this letter during the first war with Tipu Sultan, but one cannot help thinking that if he did so he would have sent it to the Governor General at an earlier date. This makes it appear as if he had some direct connection with the second war.



CHAPTER V.

MARTIN'S WILL AND HOW HE ACQUIRED HIS WEALTH.

ON the 2nd October, 1800, the *Calcutta Gazette*, which was "Published by Authority," contained the following notice :—

"At Lucknow, on the 13th instant, died Major-General Claud Martin. The greatest part of the immense wealth of which the General died possessed, amounting it is said to nearly forty lacks of rupees, has been left for the support and foundation of Public Establishments, Charitable, and Literary. Four lacks of rupees we understand are appropriated to found an Establishment in Calcutta ; two for a similar purpose at Lyons, the native place of the General, and a *Donation which does infinite credit to his humanity*, a lack and a half of Rupees, the interest, of which is to be applied in equal portions to the relief of *the poor of all persuasions whether Christians, Mussulmans, or Hindoos*, inhabitants of Calcutta, Lucknow, and Chandernagore. One of the General's houses, it is also said, he has endowed as an Academy



for the purpose of instructing the natives in the English Language, and Literature.”

Martin's Will is written in what one may call French-English, which shows that he never acquired a very accurate knowledge of our language. It is not easy to say whether this was due to a natural incapacity or to the fact that after Martin entered the Company's service he served chiefly with native troops and then at Lucknow adopted a semi-native way of life. Lord Teignmouth writes of him in 1797 : “ The old General is a Swiss ; and talks English about a degree better than Tiritta,¹¹⁸ interlarding every sentence with ‘ What do you call it ?... ‘ Do you see ? ’ He is, however, a man of much penetration and observation and *his language would be elegant if it corresponded with his ideas*. His singularities are amusing not ridiculous.” Martin probably wrote his Will in English not through vanity but simply because he was living under an English Government. In the same way though he is a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, his educational bequests are to teach children “ the English Language and Religion.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Tiritta Bazaar in Calcutta is named after this gentleman. Once it was one of the chief bazaars.

¹¹⁹ Elsewhere in the Will he writes “ Christian Religion.”



Most of Martin's available property was already invested in the Company's Securities, and he left instructions to sell all of his real property that could be disposed of without great loss, and invest the proceeds in the same manner, for, he writes—"At this moment I see no better secured fund but the Honourable English East India Company promissory notes or bonds, *bearing 8 and 12 per cent. Interest.*"

The obituary notice quoted from the *Calcutta Gazette* describes fairly well how the General disposed of his wealth. At the same time it fails to give any idea of the infinite care and tenderness with which Martin strove to provide for the safety and happiness of those who had been dependent on him during life. For this we must turn to the Will itself. To his eunuchs and male and female slaves, necessary adjuncts to a native establishment, he gave freedom in most cases, in the others leaving them allowances dependent only on their good behaviour to those whom he had made their masters, and for all of them he bespoke the kindness of those Europeans who had professed friendship towards him. To some of his favourite servants he left pensions in perpetuity, attached only to nominal duties such as the care of



his tomb, and he even provided for their relations. To the four women, whom he had treated as wives, he bequeathed property in buildings and money on a scale which made them absolutely independent, and at the same time he left them free to make any new connections they pleased, adding, with a rare generosity, the request that, if they made and repented any such connection, his executors would use the powers provided by Mohammedan Law to rescue them from the consequences of their rash action. Here too it must not be forgotten that dependent upon him were some women and children belonging to other Europeans who had lived at Lucknow *but had died or gone away without providing for them*. To all these he left pensions or some other provision. Passing from his immediate household we find him leaving a large, but not excessive, amount of money to the members of his father's family, not forgetting even some distant female relatives, who, hearing of his success, had ventured in past times to appeal to his kindness. But his charity extended far beyond his household and his family. He left money for the relief of the poor, regardless of religion and race, in the towns of Lucknow, Chandernagore, Calcutta,



and Lyon, and he made provision for the assistance of prisoners and debtors, with only a kindly preference for men of his own profession. Apparently Government did not wait for the final settlement of his affairs to commence the distribution of this relief, for in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 16th December 1802 a sum of Rupees 2,000 from General Martin's Estate is entered as a subscription to the "Fund for the relief of distressed Europeans and others."

Lastly he devotes the bulk of his wealth to those who seem always to have most interested him, namely, the children, girls as well as boys. It is somewhat pathetic to think of this old foreigner, whose mother had died when he was the merest baby, who had never seen his father since he was sixteen, who had no heirs of his own body, devoting his wealth to children of a foreign race and alien religion. The handsome sums he gave to establish schools upon a charitable basis in Lucknow, Calcutta, and Lyon, were still further swelled by the accumulation of interest during the thirty-five years of litigation which followed his death, and so provided more amply than he had expected for the fulfilment of his purpose. With great wisdom he refrained from burdening these educational bequests



with any conditions except one, *viz.*, that the children, boys and girls, should be taught "the English language and religion." His house Constantia was specially dedicated as a College, and is now the Lucknow La Martinière. In Calcutta and Lyon the La Martinières were built from the bequest.

In this simple yet effective way he disposes of some thirty or forty lakhs of rupees, an amount which has been described as enormous, simply, it would appear, because attention has been called to it by the fact of its being devoted to public purposes. However, whether it should be considered great or small, the question how it was made is an interesting one. In the first place there was his official salary of Rs. 1,860 a month. This could not have helped very much though the Sicca rupee of that day was worth two shillings and sixpence. His official post was that of Superintendent of the Arsenal, and, as was the custom in those days,—*e.g.*, the two senior Head Surgeons in Calcutta held *ex officio* the Hospital contract,—it is probable that all purchases were made through him and that he received on all of them the usual commission.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ *Saint-Génis* (page 236, Note) says Martin valued his emoluments from the Arsenal of Oudh at three lakhs a year.



In those days a man's honesty lay not in refusing a commission when offered but in insisting upon the provision of good material. As the Nawab's Arsenal must have supplied the Contingent sent by the Company any defect in his behaviour on this account would soon have produced complaints. That the Military stores he provided were good is proved by the fact that, after fourteen years at Lucknow, Lord Cornwallis commissioned him to buy horses for the cavalry.

These sources of income may then be called official, but he also purchased and rented land, some say in partnership with De Boigne, for the cultivation of Indigo,¹²¹ which he manufactured on what, if not

This for twenty-five years, the period of Martin's incumbency, would, without interest, have amounted to seventy-five lakhs, but Martin's whole fortune was only forty lakhs. Either the emoluments were grossly exaggerated or Martin was not so clever a money-maker as he is said to have been. The only mention I can find of the actual expenses is an item of Rs. 9,118-15 in the account rendered by Mr. Bristow of disbursements from October 1782 to January 1784. This is entered as "Expenses of the Arsenal through Colonel Martine." It is hard to believe it represented the total expenses. It could not have covered even the expenses of the British Contingent.

¹²¹ Martin cultivated Indigo under his own supervision at Najafghar or Martinghar, and also, apparently by agents, on several estates which he had bought or rented.



his own, was at any rate an economical method. His interest in this subject was so great that during his visit to Madras he managed to examine into the process of making Indigo as followed at Ambore, and communicated an account of it to the Asiatic Society in 1791, though he did not become a member of that institution till 1799. It may interest his modern successors.

*On the Manufacture of Indigo at Ambore, by
Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Martin.*¹²²

“I present the Society with a short description of the process observed in the culture and manufacture of indigo in this part of India. The Ambore district is comprised within a range of surrounding hills of a moderate height : the river *Pallar*, declining from its apparent southerly direction, enters this district about three miles from the eastward, washes the Ambore Pettah, a small neat village, distant three miles to the southward of the fort of that name, situated in a beautiful valley ; the skirts of the hills covered with

¹²² See *Asiatic Researches*, 1792, Vol. 3, page 475. Ambore is a town in the Carnatic Province bordering on the Balaghaut, 108 miles W.S.W. from Madras. A portion of this description of Ambore by Martin is quoted in *Walter Hamilton's East India Gazetteer*, 1815.



the Palmeira and Date trees, from the produce of which a considerable quantity of coarse sugar is made ; this tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water conducted from the river along the margin of the heights and throughout the intermediate extent : this element being conveyed in these artificial canals (three feet deep) affording a pure and crystal current of excellent water for the supply of the Rice fields, Tobacco, Mango, and Cocoanut, plantations ; the highest situated lands affording Indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this season notwithstanding the intenseness of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent rising to 100, and out of it to 120 ; the plant affording even in the driest spots good foliage, although more luxuriant in moister situations. I am just returned from examining the manufacture of this article. First the plant is boiled in earthen pots of about eighteen inches diameter, disposed on the ground in excavated ranges from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used. When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small



jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence laded in small pots into larger jars disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth ; the jar when three-fourths full is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the fecula takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour ; a precipitant composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar which after mixture is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures practised in the side of the jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula which is carried to the houses and dried in bags.

“ This is the whole of the process recurred to in this part which, I think, if adopted in Bengal, might in no small degree supersede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings, in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead stock



before they can make any Indigo in the *European* method, to which I have to add, that Indigo thus obtained possesses a very fine quality.

“ As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in Bengal, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society.”

AMBORE,

2nd April 1791.

The Will shows that these Indigo farms were a very profitable investment, but it is impossible to calculate how much Martin made from them, and one has to remember that living in a Native State the planter was exposed to excessive duties, and had to bribe the officials to allow his indigo to go down to Calcutta on anything like reasonable terms. Mr. Fortier, before mentioned as Martin's partner, complained bitterly of this to the Resident in 1789.¹²³

There is nothing objectionable in the above mentioned ways of making money, and in fact those who accuse Martin of knavery generally omit to notice them. There were however other methods possible only under a native *régime*. The first

¹²³ See Public Proceedings, 29th July 1789. Nos. 1 and 2.



mentioned is almost ridiculous. It is said that he made very large sums by gambling. He kept a fine breed of fighting cocks, and, like most gentlemen of the time, was very fond of the sport. In *Zoffany's* picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cockfight" painted in 1786, Martin appears amongst all the leading Europeans and native notabilities of Lucknow. This is all the evidence we have of his being addicted to gambling.

Next it is said that he induced his friend Asaf-ud-daula to buy immense quantities of European curios and mechanical contrivances, and intercepted large commissions on the purchases. All native princes have a weakness for this kind of expenditure, and *Mr. Smith's* description of Asaf-ud-daula amongst his treasures (See pages 78—80) shows that he needed very little inducement to indulge himself in this way. It is extremely probable that Martin as a Court favourite, a Frenchman, and a clever mechanician, was employed to make many of the purchases, but he could never, in his own interests, have suggested the purchase of all the rubbish that the Nawab bought, and, if he did take his commission on what he did recommend, there was little reason for his conscience to trouble



COLONEL MORDAUNT'S COCK MATCH

At Lucknow, in the Province of Oudh, in the year 1786, at which were present several High and Distinguished Personages.

CSL



J. Zoffany pinxit.

COLONEL MORDAUNT.

ASAF-UD-DAULA.

COLONEL MARTIN.



him. He did not, however, have the sole benefit of the Nawab's love for pretty things, e.g., Dr. Blane was given an order to purchase in England "two glass *tazias* with chandeliers and shades and other appointments, one to be green and the other red. The price was fixed at a lakh of rupees."¹²⁴

A more fruitful source of income probably was to be found in the presents he received from suitors at the Nawab's Court who requested the assistance of his influence. To the modern European the very idea of such interference suggests injustice, but the main difficulty experienced by a suitor in a Native State is not so much to obtain justice as to obtain a hearing at all, and the patron who will assure him of the latter is well deserving of his fee. This was the custom at Lucknow. To refuse the fee would have exposed him to the resentment of rival favourites who would tolerate opposition in the way of business much more readily than an affectation of virtue which interfered with their gains. It is said that Martin's influence at Court was largely due to the cleverness

¹²⁴ See *Abu Talib*, page 94. Dr. William Blane was a brother of Dr. Gilbert Blane, M.D., F.R.S.



of his mistress,¹²⁵ who had access to the Royal Harem, and was thus able to keep him posted in all the palace intrigues, and by a judicious distribution of presents consolidate his influence. If this is true, the lady referred to must have been the woman whom he called Boulone or Lise.

In the Court of Oudh it was not etiquette for the State to pay in cash for anything that could be obtained on credit. When an officer had to make a State purchase he received from the Nawab a bond for the money it was likely to cost, on which bond he was expected to raise money in the Bazar, the value of the Bond naturally depending upon the supposed probability of the creditor ultimately obtaining payment from the Nawab and upon various other possibilities. Thus it happened that the Nawab was almost always in apparent debt to his European officers at Lucknow, and as early as 1779 we find

¹²⁵ See *Military Calendar*, II. 457, Note. "The General derived considerable assistance from his mistress, a beautiful and clever woman, who from her acquaintance with the leading parties at the several native courts, and the magnificent presents she was allowed to make to them, obtained for the General information which enabled him to check in their birth many measures in opposition to the interests of the Vizier, and to guard against the duplicity of various political characters."



Martin a creditor for Rs. 38,000.¹²⁶ The document in which this fact is noted shows, beside the names of a number of Civil officers, those of several military men who were creditors of the Nawab for sums varying from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 2,76,000,¹²⁷ and as this document was considered by the Board about a month before they gave Martin his majority there was evidently nothing wrong in the matter. Similarly, in the Parliamentary Blue Books (*"Oudh Papers,"* 1803), we find the Nawab indebted to Martin to the extent of over 25 lakhs.¹²⁸ The nature of the debt may be judged from the following extract from a letter, dated 28th September 1796, from the Resident to the Governor-General :—

"General Martin positively refused to come into the terms offered, unless the whole of the principal of

¹²⁶ See Public Proceedings, 23rd August 1779.

¹²⁷ For instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Goddard for Rs. 43,000; Major Polier for Rs. 2,76,935; Captain James Law for Rs. 83,987; Captain Robert Brooke for Rs. 30,380; Captain Joseph Bruce for Rs. 39,937; Captain Robert Stuart for Rs. 60,162. (Public Proceedings, 23rd August 1779).

¹²⁸ In a list of the debts of the Nawab-Wazir to Europeans, given by the Resident, Mr. Cherry, in his letter of the 4th November 1795, it is stated that these 25 lakhs formed part of a loan negotiated by Dhanpat Rai to pay the Company's subsidy. Besides this sum Martin claimed 1½ lakhs for arrears on account of the Arsenal.



his debt was paid into his own hands, *that he might acquit himself of the obligations which he had contracted with others joined in the loan*; and this point was at last conceded by the Vizier, who sent him the balance of Rs. 25,81,000, that appeared to be due to him on the face of the accounts; *and thus afforded him an opportunity of paying the Native creditors, to whom he had come under engagements in the presence of the Cauzee of Lucknow."*

In this way Martin was probably connected with almost every public loan contracted by the Court. It is to be presumed that it was a profitable business as public loans generally are to those who float them, and if the commissions were high the above extract shows that the risks run were proportionate,¹²⁰ whilst we have Martin's own word that his personal credit

¹²⁰ On the 8th July 1796 Martin wrote to the Nawab:—"Permit me to renew my request for the payment of the sum due by your Excellency's Government, which sum I lent on the solemn faith of your Excellency's order, and at the repeated request of your Ministers who had to pay to your Excellency and the Company's arrears of subsidy. Had your Ministers not produced me your own order signed and sealed by your Excellency I could not have been able to raise so large a sum as I did besides my own and under the faith of so solemn order manually signed and sealed by your Excellency for the repayment on your Excellency's Aumils." This shows that the Ministers tried to use the General's credit when their own had failed.



was often stretched to such an extent that he was in want of cash for his ordinary expenses.

Last of all amongst his methods of making money was a charge of twelve per cent. which he made for the custody of valuables left with him by people who were afraid of being plundered by the State officials or by robbers. His house¹³⁰ was a kind of stronghold and people seem to have sent their property to him as now one sends the plate chest to one's banker, but his maligners have fixed upon this to denounce him as a pawnbroker. It must however be remembered that the East India Company gave eight to twelve per cent. interest upon their loans, while in any Native State a Treasurer thought himself moderate if he deducted only ten per cent. from every payment he was ordered to make.¹³¹ A similar charge therefore for an actual accommodation would not appear excessive to the natives of Lucknow. The state of affairs which made necessary

¹³⁰ See description by Mr. Twining on page 72.

¹³¹ Rai Durlabh, Diwan of Mir Jafar, was allowed 5% on the money which Mir Jafar agreed to pay the English for the damage done to them when Siraj-ud-daula captured Calcutta. He was no friend of the English and this charge was allowed simply because he was a man of influence.



the protection he could afford, may be judged from the following letter,¹³² dated 14th March 1793, from the Acting Resident, Mr. Johnstone, to Lord Cornwallis :—

“ To trouble your Lordship with details of every little disorder, arising out of the anarchy now reigning in these Provinces, would be improper ; but when *evils* are of considerable magnitude, I trust your Lordship will not disapprove of their being made known to you.

“ Since the weakness of the Princes of Hindostan has suffered their chief favorites to unite in themselves every function of Government, judicial offices have lost their respectability. The Cazy and Mufti are only heard of on the days of the Eed, or at marriages ; whilst the Cutwal is degraded into a Chief of watchmen, or a keeper of prisons. Such an office men of character are not forward to solicit, and it is commonly filled by persons of the lowest class, who seldom scruple at any iniquity, and are oftener the associate, than the dread of the thief. It is to this cause perhaps, that we are to attribute the bad Police prevailing in most large Cities in India, and

¹³² See Political Consultations, 5th April 1793.



above all Lucknow, where the Cutwal has usually been a menial of some Orderly, or other favourite of the Viziers. Robberies and murders have long been frequent ; but lately they have increased to such an alarming degree, as to require some immediate remedy. About a month ago, a house of Colonel Martin's occupied by Mr. Gairard,¹³³ was attacked in a most audacious and open manner by upwards of 100 persons, who, after murdering three Chokeydars, plundered the house of every thing it contained. They then proceeded to maltreat Mrs. Gairard, and after tearing the rings from her ears, and stripping her naked, turned her into an adjoining compound, where she was fired upon by some of the villains and wounded to such a degree that her life was in danger. Three days ago a larger and a more desperate gang attacked a Bazar within three hundred yards of my house, and plundered it after the murder of ten or twelve persons.

¹³³ This is probably the Mr. Gairard mentioned in *Mr. Carey's* "Good Old Days of Honourable John Company" (II. 90-91), as catering for the amusement of the people of Calcutta in 1788 and 1789 "with Vauxhall exhibitions of Fireworks." The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 28th June 1792 mentions him as giving displays of Fireworks at Lucknow.



“Concerning the former of these attacks, I thought it my duty to make a representation to the Vizier’s ministers : but I received no other answer, than what to him, who is acquainted with them, is sufficiently expressive of an intention to evade redress ; a promise to direct the Cutwal to make enquiry. Accordingly none of those concerned have yet been discovered, though from the numbers engaged, and the openness with which the attack was conducted, they could not have escaped detection, had effectual search been made. The other robbery will pass unnoticed in the same manner. Indeed I understand that the only answer Jeau Lall ¹³⁴ vouchsafed to give to the inhabitants who assembled at his gate was “Search for the thieves, and if they be found, I will cause them to restore your property.”

¹³⁴ The Resident, Mr. John Lumsden, in a letter to Sir John Shore, 28th September 1796, tells us he was one of the Wazir’s confidants. *Abu Talib* says he was a man of low extraction, whom Asaf-ud-daula made his house-steward, giving him a military command at the same time. *Abu Talib* describes him as an unprincipled villain, but *Moulvi Mohummud Mussee-hood-deen* calls him “His Excellency’s talented minister.” Raja Jhao Lal was dismissed by Asaf-ud-daula in 1797 at the request of Sir John Shore, but behaved with such circumspection in his enforced retirement that the Company gave him a handsome pension.



“The present Cutwal is a man of infamous character, and a creature of Jeau Lall's, who no doubt shares his gains. Indeed some thieves who were seized some time ago confessed to this effect. And though your Lordship may justly refuse to give credit to one in such a situation descending to such a thing ; yet in the time of Mr. Middleton a man almost as high in His Excellency's favour suffered death for this very crime. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that for many years, no man has been punished for robbery or burglary, though such things happen almost daily ; a sufficient evidence that some person in power benefits by these crimes.

“Whether your Lordship may think proper to take any steps in this business it does not become me to conjecture, but the removal of the present Cutwal, and the appointment of some creditable man to the office, dependent on the ministers, would be a sensible benefit to the inhabitants of this large City, and perhaps is necessary for the safety of their persons and property.”

Taking one thing with another, and remembering the manners of the time, it is evident that Martin resorted to no method of obtaining wealth which was



not sanctioned by the custom of the day and the example of men of rank and reputation. As a matter of fact he served the Nawabs-Wazir for nearly a quarter of a century, and saved hardly more than Colonel Hannay,¹³⁵ also an English officer in Oudh, did in three years. Considering his influence at Court and amongst the natives, if he thought about the matter at all, it must have been, like Clive when he remembered the Treasury at Murshidabad, to marvel at his own moderation.

¹³⁵ It appears that the whole country of Sarwar was leased to him in 1778-9. *Abu Talib* says that at first he was afraid to serve under him because of his severity and violent temper, but as regards the wealth he amassed it was not obtained by oppression or by defrauding his employers but by his excellent business habits, and he paid into the Nawab's Treasury more than any one else would or could have done. The Company formed a very different view of his character and behaviour.



CHAPTER VI.

HOW HE SPENT HIS LEISURE HOURS.

IN the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 18th December 1800, appears the following advertisement :—

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION
BY TULLOH AND COMPANY.

AT THEIR AUCTION ROOM,

On Thursday, the 8th January, 1801.

(By order of the Executors of the late Major-General
MARTIN, Deceased) :

“Four carpets, of the real Gobdin (*sic*) Tapestry, which for the extreme brilliancy of the colors, and the richness of design, have never been equalled by any thing seen in this Country. The scenes are African figures of the Lion, Lioness, Rhinoceros, Elephant, Panther, Horse, etc., but *it is impossible to describe their beauty.*”

This is repeated on the 25th December, and on the 1st January, by which time Messrs. Tulloh and



Company had received further instalments of the General's property, which they advertised as follows:—

“Four Fowling pieces, by *Grierson*, Gunmaker to His Majesty, the most elegant ever ordered for this country; best twisted Barrels, cased with Silver, the Locks and Breeches richly inlaid with Gold, the Plugs all round in Gold, forming a Star, Gold Pans, Touch-holes and Sights, Gold Ovals, engraved with Arms, in Mahogany cases, lined with Green Velvet, and complete Apparatus.

“Four pair of Pistols, of the same description.

“Eighteen Gold Medals (three sizes), having the late General Martin's Profile on one side, and his Name and Titles in Persian characters on the other, by *Boulton*.¹³⁶

“One hundred and seventy-six silver ditto.

“Four Coins, specimens of *Boulton*.

“A complete Coining Machine, for cutting Blanks, striking Medals and Coins, with sundry Dyes, in which the above-mentioned Medals were struck.

¹³⁶ Matthew Boulton, 1728—1809, produced a new copper coinage for England in 1797. He made large quantities of coin for the East India Company.



"A quantity of Copper Medals, struck in the same dyes.

"A Bland's Patent Telescope, for measuring Heights and Distances.

"A Tin-box, containing phosphoric matches, and other Articles.

"*N.B.*—They may be viewed any time previous to the Sale."

From time to time during the whole of this year the *Calcutta Gazette* contains notices of sale of Martin's furniture and other property, Musical instruments, telescopes, "plated furniture with Major-General Martin's arms," lustres, girandoles, Jewellery and precious stones, the latter including "a beautiful rose diamond set for a ring, and known to surpass anything of the kind in this country," "about 4,000 volumes of highly valuable books in the Latin, Italian, French and English languages—an extensive, curious and valuable Collection of Persian and Shanscrit Books and a complete set of Daniel's Views in India," Indian arms, "about 150 paintings in oil colours, on different subjects: forty-seven oil paintings and sketches by Zoffany: a very extensive collection of



fine prints, drawings, caricatures, and Hindustani sketches," ¹⁸⁷ gold and silver coins, shawls, a printing press with Arabic and Hindustani characters, "and a quantity of Ottar of Roses of a peculiarly fine and pure quality, being the collection of some years by the late General, and esteemed some of the best ever produced."

This description of his property is interesting as it shows us in what ways Martin employed his leisure. A collection of 4,000 books with a fine collection of Manuscripts would be a handsome library even in modern India, and a gallery of 200 pictures would be absolutely remarkable. The number of pictures by Zoffany shows that he knew good work when he came across it in India, and if he bought pretty things for Asaf-ud-daula it is highly improbable that he would have allowed him to possess specimens of Claude Lorraine without having some in his own collection. His guns show that he was fond of shooting: we know that he amused himself with

¹⁸⁷ As the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 20th June 1805 contains an advertisement of the sale of other pictures it is evident that these figures do not represent the whole of his collection.



Cock-fighting, breeding a special breed of Cocks himself, and, as Lord Cornwallis asked Martin, an ex-dragoon, to purchase remounts for the army, he was probably an authority on horses. I have already (See pages 67—68) alluded to his love of Botany and horticultural experiments.

The apparatus for striking coins and medals is particularly interesting because coins and medals still exist which were struck by him, and it is generally believed that he managed all Asaf-ud-daula's issues of coin. Native Princes were fond of granting titles of honour to their favourites, *e.g.*, we find the Emperor sending such titles to Clive and other English officers, and Claud Martin had his full share of these. A copper medal, dated 1796, has his bust on the obverse, and on the reverse the titles, *Distinguished Noble, Honoured Lord, Sword of the Country, General Claud Martin Bahadur, Mighty in Battle*. In the Indian Museum there is a silver medal of the same kind but of very superior workmanship, the die for which must have been cut in England, though the name "McKenzie" below the bust is not identifiable. Other representations of medals struck in his honour by Asaf-ud-daula are given in *North Indian Notes*



*and Queries.*¹³⁸ Probably the designs for these were made by himself or his friends.

The skill in Drawing which won him his first special appointments in the Survey of Bengal, and so led to his successful career in Lucknow, was often turned to artistic purposes, and there still exists a slight picture of the town of Bangalore which he painted. (See Illustration facing page 65). The designs for Constantia must have been in part his own. He was fond of devising Coats-of-Arms for himself, but these are not easy to understand. The "fish" upon his standards is the armorial bearing of the Nawabs-Wazir of Oudh, and the right to use it must have been granted by Asaf-ud-daula.¹³⁹

Beside coins he made larger objects such as Bells and Cannon. In the vault of the Lucknow La Martinière is an immense bell which he cast, and in the grounds of the same institution is to be seen a bronze 18-pounder which is said to have been used at Seringapatam. (See Illustration facing page 65). On

¹³⁸ See *North Indian Notes and Queries* for November 1891, page 143.

¹³⁹ *Abu Talib* (page 106) says this privilege was granted to Hasan Reza Khan and Tikait Rai when they were sent on a mission to Lord Cornwallis.



this cannon is a rude representation of a balloon. The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 13th October 1785, has the following paragraph :—"Colonel Martin has exhibited several balloons at Lucknow, to the great astonishment and entertainment of the Shahzadeh and the Vizier. The Colonel is now constructing one large enough to carry up several persons." In reference to the last statement, it is said that the Wazir asked the Colonel to make a balloon capable of carrying 20 persons, and when he was told that the men would run a great risk of losing their lives, replied, like a true Oriental despot, that that was no affair of the Colonel's. The balloon, however, was never completed. These balloons of Martin's, constructed on the Montgolfier principle, are said to have been the first seen in India.¹⁴⁰

Raymond, the French renegade, who under the name of Hadjee Mustapha translated the *Seir Mutaqherin*, adds the following note to his preface :—

¹⁴⁰ I find however that the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 4th August 1785 says a balloon was let off on the Esplanade, Calcutta, on the 30th July by a Mr. Wintle. The first ascent made in India was by Mr. Robert, a French Aëronaut, on the 21st March 1836. It is possible that Mr. Wintle's balloon was not constructed in India. If so, then the common belief that Martin was the first person who made balloons in India may be correct.



“Colonel Martine is a man desirous of all kinds of knowledge, and although he is at the head of a large fortune, which he owes only to his own industry, he works whole days together at all the arts that concern watch-making and gun-smith work, with as much bodily labour as if he had his bread to earn by it. As an architect, and he is everything, he has built himself at Lucknow a strong elegant house¹⁴¹ that has neither beams nor cupola, and is so contrived that a single man might defend it against multitudes.” Later on in another note¹⁴² *Raymond* adds “Even to-day, 1786, Colonel Martine, a Frenchman, who has greatly distinguished himself these 22 years in the English service, has at Lucknow a manufactory, where he makes pistols and fusils better, both as to lock and barrel, than the best arms that come from Europe.....Sir Elijah Impey.....carried to Europe one pair of these pistols.”

One would think that, with his official work and his Indigo farms, his shooting and Cock-fighting, his manufacture of coins, bells, guns, &c., his time

¹⁴¹ *Mr. Twining's* description (See page 72) shows this must have been the Farhad Buxsh.

¹⁴² See the *Seir Mutaqherin*, II. 185.



MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF MAJOR-GENERAL MARTIN BY ASAF-UD-DAUIA.
 FROM A MEDAL IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

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CLAUD MARTIN'S COAT OF ARMS
FROM THE CEILING OF THE LIBRARY,
CONSTANTIA.



Calcutta."¹⁴⁹ Constantia was not quite completed at the time of his death, so we cannot be sure that it wholly represents Martin's wishes. *Sir Erskine Perry*, an impartial judge, describes it as follows in his "Bird's-Eye View of India," 1855 (p. 171):—

"The establishment is located in a most eccentric palace, built by the General for his own residence, and apparently on his own designs, at an expense of £160,000. He appears to have imported a number of artificers, most likely Italians ; for the rooms are decorated profusely with arabesques, bas-reliefs, and other ornaments in the Italian style, many of them of great beauty ; and the external architecture is crowned profusely with casts of figures, some after the antique, some in modern fashion ; and the modeller appears to have formed a school in the city, which lasts to this day, and its works may be seen in the different palaces of the king and noblemen."

One of the peculiarities of the building is the number of figures with which it is adorned. These were damaged first by the earthquake of the 1st

¹⁴⁹ See also *Hamilton's "Description of Hindustan,"* 1.348. Others say the mirrors in Government House were captured in a French man-of-war.



September 1803,¹⁵⁰ which did much damage in Lucknow, Benares and other places, and later on in the Mutiny. Fortunately a picture of Constantia before the Mutiny still exists.

As has been said, many years elapsed before Constantia was put to its intended purpose. Travelers used it as a kind of Rest-house, and the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th April 1802 tells us it was prepared by the Nawab for the reception of the Governor-General when he visited Lucknow in February of the same year. It was probably the fact of the Nawab using it in this way that made people suppose it belonged to him.

¹⁵⁰ See *Lord Valentia*, I, 163, Note, and *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th September 1803.



CHAPTER VII.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER.

THERE still exists a bust of the General by Banks, which has recently been repaired in Rome and replaced beside his tomb by the present Principal of the Lucknow La Martinière, and there are several pictures of him, notably those by Zoffany, Banks, Chinnery, and Renaldi. *M. Octave Sachot* describes him as tall, with a fine figure, open countenance, keen and vivacious eyes. This is borne out to a certain extent by the pictures mentioned. That by Chinnery is the best, and the face has an expression of benevolence, which is itself a speaking protest against the malice of his slanderers.

What the man really was is apparent from the story of his life, but the evil reputation which has attached itself to his name seems first to have taken form and shape in the writings of *Lord Valentia*,¹⁵¹ a typical globe-trotter, who visited Lucknow in 1803, and who, it would seem, drew his account of the

¹⁵¹ *Lord Valentia*, II, 163-165.

deceased from the vulgar gossip of an Anglo-Indian Club and the malicious representations of men who had been disappointed of any share in the dead man's wealth. One can imagine the delight of the low class Europeans of Lucknow when they found "a distinguished traveller" into whose credulous ears they might pour their venom. *Bishop Heber*¹⁵² describes him as one "who rose by good fortune more than any brilliant services to the first rank of the Company's army." The poor renegade *Raymond* was more just when he eulogised his love of work, and the author of the *East Indian Chronologist*¹⁵³ when he records his death adds kindly that "He was justly celebrated for his princely manners."

It is unpleasant to quote a writer like *Lord Valentia*, but slander to be destroyed must be openly met, and fortunately Claud Martin's Will is of so detailed a character that it enables us to answer his calumnies completely. *Lord Valentia* writes as follows :—

"A more infamous or despicable character than the late General Martin never existed. He had not a

¹⁵² "Narrative of a journey through the Upper Provinces of India," 1826, by the *Right Reverend R. Heber*.

¹⁵³ Supposed to be a Mr. Hawkesworth.



would have been fully occupied, but like almost all self-made men he had acquired a passion for building. His curious house on the Gumti, afterwards incorporated in the Farhad Buksh, has been referred to more than once; he had also a palace, half Indian half English in design, at Najafghar¹⁴³ where he had an Indigo farm and spent a great part of his time, but the building he was most interested in was his palace-tomb Constantia which he named after the first word of his motto, "Constantia et Labore."¹⁴⁴ This building is constructed in an extraordinary mixture of styles, but, whilst bizarre in its details, as a whole¹⁴⁵ it is striking and impressive, and

¹⁴³ *Walter Hamilton* in his *East-Indian Gazetteer*, 1815, writes of Najafghar :—"This is a busy commercial place, having been chiefly indebted for its existence to the vicinity of an extensive Indigo work established by the late General Claude Martine."

¹⁴⁴ This is the commonly accepted explanation of the name, but it is not altogether satisfactory. *Mr. William Knighton* (*The Private Life of an Eastern King*, 1856) makes his supposed autobiographer 'The Member of the Household' say, "Constantia.... was called, I am told, after his first love, a French maiden, whom he had left behind in France, and who died long before he attained to wealth and honours." Does this pretty story account for the fact that Martin never married?

¹⁴⁵ *M. Louis Rousselet* writes :—"The Martinière though ridiculous in its details has as a whole an appearance of originality and grandeur." *Sir William Howard Russell* says that one's first

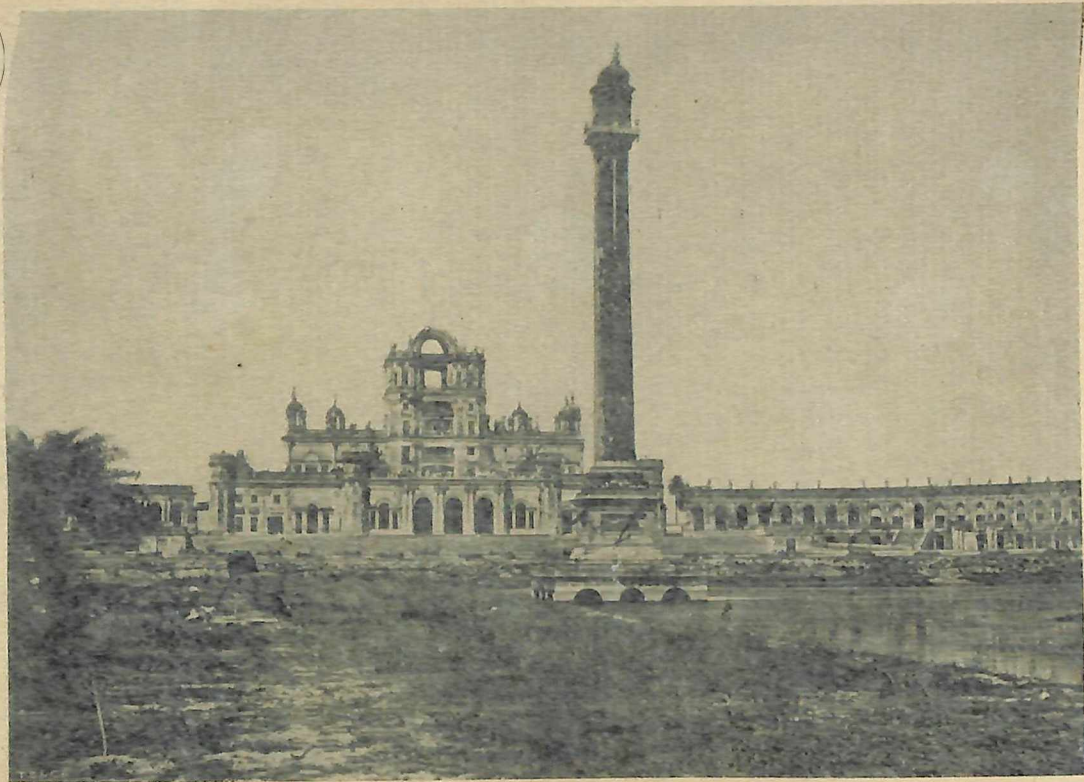
the site chosen is a lovely park which might excite the envy of any educational establishment in the world.¹⁴⁶ In this building he intended to place the pictures and other works of art which he had collected, and which, as has been mentioned, excited the interest of wandering European artists. *Lord Valentia*¹⁴⁷ mocks at his taste in the decoration of the exterior of the building, but adds that when, after Martin's death, most of the furniture of Constantia was sold,¹⁴⁸ "the girandoles and mirrors were bought for the new Government House in

thought on seeing it is that it is extremely beautiful, and the next that it is the work of a madman. *De gustibus non est disputandum.*

¹⁴⁶ *Captain Von Orlich*, in 1843, wrote:—"From the summit of the towers there is a very wide and noble prospect: to the south spreads the valley of the Goomty, bordered by corn-fields, jungles and woods; and to the north lies the large, handsome city, to which the minarets and the gilded and white cupolas of the numerous palaces and sepulchres give inexpressible splendour. In front of the palace of Constantia is a reservoir, with a column forty feet high rising in the centre, and the eye is refreshed by the bright colours of a pretty flower garden and the dark green of the mangoes which flourish all around." *Lord Valentia* (1.165) says of the site "The General could not have pitched on an uglier spot in the vicinity of Lucknow."

¹⁴⁷ *George, Viscount Valentia, Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, &c.* 1802-1806.

¹⁴⁸ The property at Lucknow was put up to auction on the 15th October 1801. See *Calcutta Gazette* of September 24th, 1801.



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single virtue, though he laboured to assume the appearance of several. He took the female orphan children of two of his friends, declaring that he would educate and provide for them both ; but when they reached the age of twelve, they unwillingly became his concubines. His death was supposed to be the consequence of the perpetration of the last crime. Another child he proposed to educate, and actually sent to England, and during his life he had the credit of having done a generous action ; but on his death, every item that he had expended was found in his accounts debited to the father, with an especial order to his executors to recover the whole. His fortune was raised by fraud and usury to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, independent of houses ; yet with affluence to which he had never been brought up, and which, of course, he knew not how to enjoy, he never did a generous act, and never had a friend. His dependents, who had faithfully served him through life, he left to poverty at his death. To his brother, who came out hither, he liberally gave fifty rupees per month, saying, with a curse, ' Let him work for his bread, as I have done ! ' In an account of his life which I have seen, it is said



that he made a great deal of money by securing the property of the natives in troublesome times, on their paying him twelve per cent. The fact is, that he opened a regular pawnbroker's shop, where he advanced twelve per cent. on any goods or jewels, the people having a right to redeem them within the year by paying twenty-four per cent. ; but if that was not done, he kept them for ever and this very frequently happened ; sometimes even by his own management in keeping out of the way towards the end of the period ; so that his debtors if capable and willing, had no means of redeeming their pledges. The late Nawab's idiotical propensities were another fruitful source of profit to him ; he purchased different articles in Europe, and sold them at 100*l.*, 200*l.* or 500*l.* per cent. lending him at the same time money to pay himself at 3*l.* per cent. per month. In this branch of his profit I am sorry to say that many English, resident at Lucknow, deeply participated. General Martin certainly loved his money dearly, but he loved fame still more, and at an immense expense he laboured to acquire it. From this idea he built the vast habitations in this neighbourhood and finished them in the most ex-



pensive manner; and from the same idea, the mass of his property is bequeathed to charitable purposes. Fame he may probably attain, but it is a species of fame that no good man would desire; and, if he is handed down to posterity, as a man who raised himself to riches and power from the condition of a private soldier, it will also be added, that his riches were contaminated by the methods employed in obtaining them, and that his character was stained by almost every vice that can disgrace human nature. The present visit was to a Mr. Quieros, a Portuguese native, who having acted as clerk to the late General, was by him left one of the executors to his Will, by which he has thriven well, and is now become a man of considerable property."

Besides being self contradictory in many points this absurd rigmarole is demonstrably false in every case in which its author condescends to make his charges definite. We know that Martin not only provided for his dependants but even for their relatives. We know that the father whom *Lord Valentia* represents as having been so cunningly deceived was given the management of a large Indigo farm from the profits of which he was merely required



to repay his debt in such easy instalments that the balance allowed him to build up a fortune. So far from showing a mocking neglect towards his brother—no brother of his ever came to India—we know that he remitted money not only to his near relatives but also to the most distant during his life and provided suitably for them after his death. We have said enough to show that his fortune was not made in any shameful way. We have given instances of his generosity to individuals—which are not easy to obtain after so long a lapse of time—and Mr. Hawkesworth,¹⁵³ a few months after his death, quoting the paragraphs of his Will which describes his benefactions, adds :—

“Such are the efforts vain man makes for worldly immortality, but, *as a petitioner never left Claud Martin dissatisfied*, that name deserves to be immortal. A splendid company lately assembled at Loukparra drank, ‘May the Mausoleum of

¹⁵³ Mr. Hawkesworth published, at Calcutta, in 1803, a book entitled “Asiaticus. Part the First, Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal. Part the Second, Epitaphs in the different burial grounds in and about Calcutta.” This book must not be confused with “The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus” published by Philip Stanhope in London in 1785.



Constantia be as lasting as the Pyramids of Egypt.' As I have been indebted to the munificence of the late General for personal favours Gratitude bids me, while this page lasts, to join in the unison."

This, perhaps, is only the tribute of an inferior, but that he enjoyed the intimate friendship of men of his own rank is evident from the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Wade named his son, who became later on Sir Claude Martine Wade, after him. It is interesting to find that Sir Claude, like his god-father, distinguished himself in Survey work. He was appointed an extra assistant in the office of the Surveyor-General of India, and "completed the examination, arrangement, and analysis of the numerous maps and surveys which had for many years accumulated there." For this piece of work Lord Hastings gave him employment in the political line. It has a special interest for us as it explains why, when so much was lost, Martin's own map of the neighbourhood of Calcutta was preserved.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ In 1839 a Register was compiled of the Maps to be found in the various offices of the Bengal Presidency, and from this it would appear that Martin did a good deal of work under *Rennell*, for, besides the Map of the "Calcutta Lands or 24-Pargunnahs" and "Part of the General Survey of the Calcutta Lands



Where Martin really laid himself open to the censure of the riff-raff which formed the bulk of the European population in Lucknow in his day was in his keeping a native establishment. To understand this we must turn to his Will. He writes :—

“The four women undermentioned, as also the young one named Sally, to whom I bequeath

or 24-Purgunnahs” by Captain Claude Martin, there then existed—

- (a) Map of Rungpoor, Rangamatty, Coosbahar with the adjacent Purgunnahs of Baharbund and Bitterbund and part of Bootan, by *Rennell* and *Martin*.
- (b) Map of the Provinces of Kishenagur, Jessore, Boosnah and Mohmudsi, with parts of Dacca and Rajshahye, &c., &c., by *Rennell*, *Martin* and *Richards*, 1764—1772.
- (c) Map of the Southern part of Dacca and low lands of Tipperah, with the islands in the mouth of the Ganges, by *Rennell*, *Ritchie*, *Martin* and *Richards*, 1764—1773.
- (d) Map of the District of Rungpoor by *Rennell* and *Martin*.

These maps are not now to be found but they prove conclusively (see page 30) that Martin was engaged in the Survey of the North-Eastern Districts of the Company's dominions, and it is a good instance of the perversity of ancient records to find traces of Martin's work in places where his presence is not mentioned in the Public or Military Proceedings, whilst there is no trace of his work in Bahar or Oude where, from these same Records, we know he was engaged on this very duty. As I have said on page 36, there is no record of the way in which he occupied himself during his exclusion from the army, but it is possible that he was allowed to continue in the Survey, that work not being purely military. *Rennell* had strong opinions on the injustice of the Company's action and was the very man to help a comrade who had suffered from it.



STATUES FROM BALUSTRADE
OF
CHAPEL TOWER, CONSTANTIA.



legacies, I have acquired them, not as we term slaves, though paid a consideration for, but the sum I paid was a present to the relations, that I might have had a right on them as not to be claimed by anybody ; and those I acquired for to be the companion of my good or bad fortune, and they were *to be with me for life*. I had them when in their childhood, and I had them educated as virtuously as I could ; they have fulfilled my intention to my great satisfaction."

If the essence of the marriage tie from the social point of view is its indissolubility during life, then these women were Martin's wives. But even then they might have been so unwillingly. On this subject he writes of one of them :—

" My faithful girl called Boulone, or Lise, who has been most faithfully attached to me, and never had the smallest room to complain of her since I acquired her, which was when she was about nine years old, having brought her up, and educated her as my own child, with the most strictest, decent, and accomplished earthen education, having learned her to read and write Persian, and be strict in her religion, (to) which I found she had strictly adhered, as also to the purest virtue from a woman to her husband. Having



always look on as such, and I have loved her as the most chaste virtuous wife."

And again :—

"My most amiable girl named by her parents Boulone, surnamed Lise, by one Carriere, a Frenchman from whom I acquired her."....."That said girl I acquired her for the consideration of a sum I paid to one Carriere, a Frenchman, who had acquired her by purchase from a cruel and inhuman father and mother of her ; she was at that time an infant of about nine years of age, in the year 1775, which luck made her fall to my lot. I brought her up as a child I loved, and I her educated with all the tenderness of a father, took proper people to learn her principle of her religion, and learned her great modesty and decency, and to read and write, for when at age of reason she should choose any one at her pleasure for either husband or companion. As I proposed to marry her to any one of her cast if she chose it, she choosed never to quit me ; at the same time I made the same proposal to two other young girl which I had also when infant to have them married if they choose. Both wished to be married to men of their religion, and I both had



them married to good husband chosen by the mother of the girl Boulone or Lise. I then renewed to the girl Boulone to marry her, but she still persisted that she would live with me ; according I keep her, and as she has always be (been) extremely attached to me, I have endeavoured to make her as happy as I had it in my power, and I have every reason to praise her conduct, character of chastity and modesty ; and I may say (to) her credit, that since we lived together since the year 1775, we never had word of bad humour one against another. I also can't enough praise her good example of religion to her servants and to every one about her ; and tho' her father and mother so cruelly disposed of her, she has been remarkable for her humanity and generosity toward them and toward her several sisters and other relations. For all her good qualities I sincerely pray to God that she may receive her proper reward, and to make her happy wherever she may be. I do not intend to put any restriction on her future conduct, giving her full liberty to marry if she choose to do it and though she may be married, her pension must be continued to her as also any other acts of gifts donation is to be continued for as long as she live."



If these words are to be believed, and they are evidently written rather with a regard to the reputation of the women than of himself, there was no real compulsion on his part. That some of these girls were the orphan children of his friends—*Lord Valentia* says he never had a friend—is true, for Martin expressly tells us Sally was the child of Colonel Harper, and he also tells us he provided for some females connected with Colonel Polier. Natives by the mother's side and brought up in one or other of the native religions, the fact that the fathers who had deserted them were Europeans was only an additional misfortune to these girls. What was Martin to do with the poor creatures? Can any one imagine a more difficult position? They had European blood in their veins and probably those inexplicable longings which are the curse and misery of the unacknowledged half-caste. Was he, for the sake of what he must have considered a mere conventional morality, to drive them into marriage with natives whom they despised, or into connections with Europeans whom he himself looked upon with contempt? The only alternative was to keep them in his house in a position which the natives of the place



at any rate would acknowledge as respectable. To them a mistress was only a wife of lower rank, her position being the result not of immorality but of her inferior status prior to marriage. Thus Martin felt he could deal honourably with them, and so he formed a connection which was for life, but which we can see was merely formal, for in the first place the eldest of them did not come into his hands until he was a broken down man and forty years of age,¹⁵⁶ she being only nine, and in the second place there were no children born in Martin's house. Can any one, who knows anything of native life, suppose that, had their connection with Martin been any but the tie of affection, these women would have been faithful to a man who set them the example of vice? The removal of Wazir Ali from the Nawabship on the ground that he was not really the son of Asaf-ud-daula shows what kind of things were done in Lucknow.

Another commonly repeated charge is that his Will shows him to have been an Atheist whose actions were always guided by the desire to increase his reputation

¹⁵⁶ This was in 1775. In 1779 he was allowed to retire from active service as at any rate temporarily incapacitated by the effects of the climate and his wounds, (see page 42.)



or his wealth. The following extracts will show from what point of view he regarded Religion :—

“In the name of the Supreme Almighty God, Creator of this Universe, and of all which exist on the Globe, and to whom praise and adoration are due, my most humble and respectful thanks be admitted at the feet of the Sublime Unknown, unseen and incomprehensible Omnipotent, for the happiness I have enjoyed in this globe during the time his usual benevolence allowed me ; as also for the inducement and time allowed me in making and writing this my last Will and Testament in favour of those concerned in it, in hope it will be fulfilled in its full extent, wishing them every happiness possible in this and the other world. My most exalted praise and most respectful thanks be received by the Almighty Creator of all who exist, for His most kind clemency to me during my life-time. Being merciful to all, I have great hope He will pardon me the sins I have committed, if His creature can commit any, and for any neglect in not having worshipped Him as I have been in my juvenile day bid to do, as Omnipotent, the Light of Light, the Creator of Creators (creatures), Ruler of all he directed me, ruled and commanded my passions,



directed my intentions, and acts and motions, enlivened my material body, who at this time write these lines. My soul possessed a carnal body, which he had allowed it for a time, which at his pleasure I shall quit with resignation to his pleasure ; but in the greatest hope that the all-powerful Almighty Creator will be merciful to his creature, and will receive this soul of mine to His bosom, as that it may enjoy peace and happiness for ever and ever. Amen.

“Since the powerful Almighty Creator of all the Universe, and of all that exist, gave me the power and wisdom of thinking, I never discontinued contemplating and admiring his wisdom in the creation and ruling the universe, as also the several globes, planets, stars, and firmament, things incomprehensible to men’s foible (feeble) understanding. I was born and educated to believe in the existence of God, ruler of all the world and all that exist, beneficent to all, of any religion or sects they may be ; being grateful bond (bound) to thank Him for His mercifulness on me, I adored Him and worshipped Him as my executor, benefactor, and all-omnipotent ; but doubtful of the mode of worshipping Him, I did it as a child of the earth, though educated in the Roman



Catholic religion ; but when my bodily feeling made me weak, I resumed the prejudices I had imbibed by my education, and the salvation of my said immortal soul, I worshipped him as I had been thought (taught) in my infancy, though avoiding all the priestly ceremony ; but as still many doubts crowded on my mind, I could never cease enquiring of the true path of religion, and worshipping the Omnipotent Creator or God, and I endeavoured to learn the religion of other nations and sects, that I might be a proper judge for myself ; and though I found mostly every others nations and sects as ridiculous in their ceremony as I thought the religion I was educated, still I found a similarity in the same principle that the substances of every religion of nations and sects I have been acquainted, of all professing sound moral, and the recommendation to do all the good possible to all other creature, to worship one only God, Creator of all, and to be charitable to all other creature, to do penances for sins,—in short, every principle of religion equally as good as any of the several sect of the Christian religion, and my being born a Roman Catholic, on which much has been said in the same religion, I died (shall die) without



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ever any idea of changing it for any other, as I found every other allowing the same good principle, though deviating in ceremony: in this (belief) I died (die), I am in hope the Almighty will pardon me, and be merciful on me, for not having followed all the ceremony recommended in that religion, having had for principle to worship, and pray to God the creator of all, and to do to all other creatures as I wished should be done to me, as I have already said, having my religion as God, as any other in the same I died; but I must confess to my own shame that I have badly followed the rule of even those I mentioned above, trusting that the Almighty Creator of all knew my good or bad intention, in Him I am in hope to receive mercy for all those neglects; and if I have erred from the true path of salvation, that it has been the crowd of doubt of opinion that prayed on me, poor weak creature, declaring, as God knows, that I believed and worshipped a sole God, creator of all, and merciful to the creature, wishing to do all the good I could to all other creature, as sons of the same father, God; but *either pride, inattention, neglect, or avarice, has made deviated from the principle mentioned of*



charitable act, and wishing to compensate for the neglect of uncharitable act; and not having had time, or the Divine grace not having operated on me during my life-time, its being too short, though the great merciful God has kept me alive so long and made me escape thousand and thousand danger in which I was exposed, according my proportion; and not being able to devise on a better mode to repay for my neglect or avarice, than by making the act which will be mentioned hereafter, being in hope that if the Creator hear the voice of the creature, that their prayers may influe in my labour (*i. e.* influence God in my behalf); but if not, my only reliances are, that the Almighty God will be merciful and misericordeous to my poor soul."

Whatever one may think of Martin's Theology it is only a bigot who would say that these are the expressions of an Atheist or even of an irreligious man. It is true that they show very little respect for "priestly ceremony." In his time France was atheistical and educated Europe little better than sceptical.¹⁵⁷ Is it to be expected that a man who

¹⁵⁷ Colonel Munro in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772 (p. 169), when asked as to the employment of



had lived in a French camp from the age of sixteen to twenty-six, and who saw the sturdy Protestants of Calcutta perfectly satisfied to remain without a properly consecrated place of worship for nearly thirty years, should see any imperative necessity for submission to priestly guidance ? One can understand the puzzled soldier saying to himself that he could not decide on such points, that he would, as far as he could without loss of self-respect, observe those modes of worship he had learned as a child, and trust that a merciful Deity would pardon his faults of ignorance so long as he tried to observe the general Christian maxim of benevolence to his fellow creatures.

The charge of Vanity and self-seeking is one which is always brought against public benefactors ; it is as if it were a preliminary charge which every man has to meet if he wishes to confer any great benefit upon his fellows, and on this ground we might leave it unanswered, but, since his Will has been appealed to as

foreigners by the Company, said he disapproved of it altogether because, amongst other reasons, " they are of a different religion, *if they are of any at all.*" This was not simply a piece of exaggerated Protestantism as we find him advocating the employment of Irish Catholics.



evidence of its truth in Martin's case, a few words may be said. In his instruction for the disposal of his body he asks that it may be embalmed and buried in the vault of Constantia, the tomb to be covered with a marble stone, bearing the following inscription :—

“Major-General Claude Martin, born at Lyon, the.....January, 1735, arrived in India as a common soldier, and died at,.....the month..... in the year..... and he is buried in this tomb ; pray for his soul.”

Supposing him to have been a vain man, aping humility, the common sense, which no one denied him, would have told him that this definite order to place so simple an epitaph upon his tomb was the most certain way to prevent his executors from composing a flattering description of his virtues. It is however to be presumed that the charge of Vanity is based upon the careful instructions he leaves for the erection of tablets¹⁵⁸ commemorative of his benefactions, explaining his purpose as follows :—

“Ones (one) purpose of this inscription is *that it may never be forgot*, and that if perchance the cash

¹⁵⁸ Such tablets may be seen in the Church of St. John, Calcutta, and in that of St. Louis at Chanderbagore.



of the interest was not paid, that any charitable man could, by seeing such an inscription, inquire and represent to the magistrate, as to bring to account my administrators, trustees or other managers, for having neglected the payment of such charity."

"I also desire, request, or command my executor, administrators, or their assigns, that they would devise with themselves, and with the best advice they could receive, that in any case, as I say, by succession of time, that the sum that may be deposited exceed by great deal the interest necessary to be paid for the monthly or annual pension, donation, &c., yearly and monthly as mentioned,... then they may, after having well considered, make any new establishment for charitable purpose on the same plan, and with the same formality to be observed in them as mentioned to those I have herein recommended, *that the donor may be known after his death which ambitious purpose may induce other to make charitable establishment*, mankind being more actuated by ambition and vanity, (*i.e.*, men are moved to kindness chiefly by ambition and vanity) in hope I may be excused for such an idea, *though I have endeavoured never to be laid (led) or actuated in*



doing good act by the vanity of doing it ; still, often I could not prevent my feeling to be sensible of the pleasure of what I did, and as I have often encouraged and humoured others in their vanities, provided the good act was done, I am in hope that I shall have the same indulgence ; having never had at heart to increase my worth (reputation) or fortune, but for the ambition of doing good to others."

Surely there is no very sinful vanity in this. In every country public benefactions have been turned from their proper objects, and money left in charity has been taken for private uses. All that Martin wished to do was to prevent this happening in the case of his own bequests, so he took the only way open to him of securing the accomplishment of his purpose. Most people would say that if his explanation has any defect it is that it shows an excessive tendency to self-depreciation.

Martin in his Will makes very few allusions to his relations with the other Europeans in Lucknow, but it has been objected to him that his entertainments lacked in splendour and in conviviality. His defective knowledge of English and the intolerance, which half educated Englishmen display towards any



such deficiency in a foreigner, would well account for his not seeking such English society as was to be found in Lucknow, but enough has been said to show that he enjoyed the friendship of those Europeans who were men of character and intellect, and that his company was appreciated by talented visitors to that place. If his entertainments did lack in splendour Martin could not have been so ostentatious as he is represented to have been, and if they lacked in conviviality one has only to remember that a man of his nationality would naturally disapprove of the deep and heavy drinking which was then a characteristic vice of Anglo-Indian society, and that any indulgence of this nature on his part would have rendered his career impossible. The very restraint which would be considered natural in the present day must in those days have done much to make him unpopular with the common herd.



CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE life story of General Martin as traceable from authentic sources is so different from that which one would have expected from the popular view of his character that the subject has a peculiar fascination, and one is irritated at the frequent breaks in the narrative. He saw so much which he never told, and so much must have been recorded which has since been lost, that he disappoints whilst he excites our curiosity. We would like to know of his life as a private soldier in the French army, to have the history of his shipwreck in some other account than that of the captain who "left his ship too soon," to hear how he lived during his long exclusion from the English army, and all about his connection with the Court of Oudh and the way in which he made himself respected alike by corrupt native courtiers and haughty English officials. We would like to know how it was that, though he never held any active rank higher than that of a Captain, he so impressed his abilities

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upon English officers that an English General asks for his services, in his old age, for a particularly difficult command. We know something of the able and distinguished persons who visited him at Lucknow, but of his ordinary circle of friends we know next to nothing. Then again little is known about his health though for many years he suffered terribly from stone, turning his illness to this advantage that to relieve his agonies he invented one of the earliest instruments ever used in Lithotrity.¹⁵⁰ And

¹⁵⁰ "Scattered records of various efforts to relieve the bladder of stone without the use of the knife existed in medical history long before the days of Civiale. The first instance seems to have been that of the monk Theophanes, early in the 9th century. Albucasis in Arabia, appears to have been acquainted with Lithotrity, at least in theory. The monk of Citeaux is usually referred to in this connection, and finally Colonel Martine (See Journal of Science and the Arts, 1817, Vol. 1, page 199) with his file, made of the end of a knitting needle, well tempered and set in a piece of whalebone as a handle. With this rude tool, pushed through a straight canula, the Colonel was wont to rub his stone away repeating his sittings sometimes twice a day, and often operating in the presence of witnesses. In this manner he finally entirely relieved his bladder, but nobody has testified to the size of the stone or the weight of the débris." (*Ashhurst's Surgery*, VI. 219.) "Some years after the operation, gravelly concretions began again to form in his bladder; and as he did not choose to try the wire a second time, these continued to increase until the end of the year 1800, when they occasioned his death." (See *Military Calendar*, II. 458. Note.) The pain caused by the operation must



lastly his busy life at Lucknow seems to have impressed every one with the idea that he was contented with his retirement from active service. No murmur of any kind escapes him, and it is only a chance expression in his Will which tells of his baffled longing for military service and makes us feel that his energy, however successful, was diverted from its proper channel. Did he ever unbosom himself to a friend, or did he take a scornful pleasure in letting the people of Lucknow think that he, soldier as he was, cared only to beat the money-maker at his trade?

Supposing our curiosity satisfied on all these points, we should come with a better chance of success to the solution of that eternal question as to the reasons which enabled the English to drive the French out of India in spite of the skill of the French generals and the courage of their soldiers, their frequently superior numbers, and their greater popularity with the natives of the land. To a certain extent the story of Claud Martin helps us to

have been intense, and when one considers that Martin must have been over fifty when he first tried it, one realizes his immense determination and power of endurance.



understand this. It is commonly supposed that the French in India wanted that support from home which the English received, but the records of the time do not quite confirm this explanation. Almost every French General who distinguished himself out here went home ruined in fortune or reputation; he might have beaten the English, but he could not overcome the factions amongst his own countrymen. The officers of the French Royal army, the servants of the French East India Company, and the Clergy, in their mutual and selfish quarrels forgot their patriotism. The mere success of a general rendered him an object of dread to those who ought to have supported him; whilst on the opposite side when men like Clive and Hastings were put on their trial by political factions at home they had behind them the support of practically all those Englishmen in India whose opinions were of any weight and value. Had it not been for this our history would have had as shameful chapters as that of the death of Lally. The fault lay not in individual Frenchmen but in the anomalous state of French society which made men of different classes enemies to each other, which was to cause the outbreak of the French Re-



volution, and which already, in far countries, where the stress of circumstances had taught Frenchmen that birth was of little account in the true valuation of a man, encouraged the merchant to beard the noble and the clever civilian to scoff at the pretensions of the military. Then again where the solid qualities of the middle class might have compensated for the defects of their superiors the French army would not allow any *roturier* to be made an officer. When such men, aristocrats in brains if not in birth, had once learnt their own value it was absurd to suppose they would ever return to the obscurity which was all that France had to offer them, and though, as a rule, the most able of them never drew their swords against France, so much power as they represented was made a free present of to the English, and, at the least, made available other forces with which the French might be opposed. Martin would have fought to the bitter end had France had the faintest chance of succeeding, or—which is saying the same thing in other words—had French Society opened to all Frenchmen a fair field for the exercise of their abilities and energy ; but, as this was not to be, he accepted the state of affairs philosophically and, whilst his



heart was with his country, he bore no grudge against an enemy who had played and won the game honourably. He could understand also that there is a higher patriotism which makes a man the child of his civilisation as well as a native of France, England or Germany, and he took service under the one country that at that time had recognised as the basis of its dealings with the East the principle of equality for all Europeans who would consent to be good citizens. As has been well said, every country is a home to the brave man, and in Anglo-India Martin found his home.

Some have remarked unfavourably on the comparatively small sum which he left to his family, but it has been pointed out that he forgot no member of it who was in actual need of assistance, and it is a moot question even now how much a man, who has achieved wealth, owes to his family and how much to the people amongst whom, and the country in which, he has lived the working years of his life. At any rate the people of India consider it a chief grievance of their subordination to the European that he takes so much wealth away from the country and so seldom remembers its wants, and recent legis-



lation in England and elsewhere seems to show that the trend of thoughtful opinion is constantly in favour of the claim of the public, as opposed to that of the family, over newly made wealth. All that is to be said is that Martin gave his money to those who needed it in preference to those who were connected with him by blood. Money honestly earned was devoted to an honourable and useful purpose, and the name of Claud Martin will be handed down with deserved praise by generations of English boys and girls who owe the next greatest blessing after life to a generous and gallant Frenchman.

It is with regret that I leave, thus imperfectly told, this story of a charming and romantic character. A runaway schoolboy who distinguishes himself as a soldier ; who, though he can never speak their language properly, makes friends amongst all classes of the hereditary and fiercest foes of his country without ever forgetting his duty to the latter ; who acquires so much influence with these foreigners that he stands as arbiter in their dealings with the natives under their rule ; who, in spite of his incomplete education and rough life, has so much artistic talent that English artists are attracted by his collections ;



who introduces new manufactures into a country in which the industrial spirit is dull and inert, and who corresponds with men of science like Roxburgh ; who, whilst he is acquiring great wealth, thinks kindly of his poor relations far away in France and never sends away a suitor dissatisfied ; who, finally, leaves behind him the name of the most liberal promoter of Education amongst the Christian inhabitants of India—such is the man whom I have tried to paint as he appeared to the best of his contemporaries and as I believe he really was.

FINIS.



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APPENDIX.

*Copy of a letter from Colonel Malleison to Mr. J.
W. H. Stobart, Principal, Lucknow Martinière.*

MYSORE, 9th July, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received your note of 2nd instant.

By to-day's post I send you a little brochure (in French) by M. Octave Sachot, which contains all that I have been able to find out regarding the earlier career of the founder of the Martinière.

Some three or four years ago, at the request of M. Sachot, I made every possible enquiry regarding him. I applied to the late General Broome who had made the history of those times a special study, and I searched through the annals bearing upon those times. The results I communicated to M. Sachot, and he has used them in his pamphlet.

With reference to the question of desertion from the French, a crime generally attributed to Martin, and from which M. Sachot absolves him, I may say that it is clear that Claud Martin did not belong



as has been generally supposed, to the Body-Guard which did desert, but to the Regiment of Lorraine which did not. He was, in fact, taken prisoner. The mistake arose from the fact that there were two Martins in the Body-Guard, neither of whom, however, bore the name of "Claude." I extract the following from a note in the *East India Military Calendar*, Vol. II, page 75 : "All the others, being prisoners of war, were sent to Bengal, where a number of them engaged in the Company's service and were placed under M. Claude Martine, their Countryman, who had formerly served in the Regiment of Lorraine."

I will look through the Annual Register for any further details on the subject, and, should I find any, I shall not fail to communicate them to you.

Believe me,

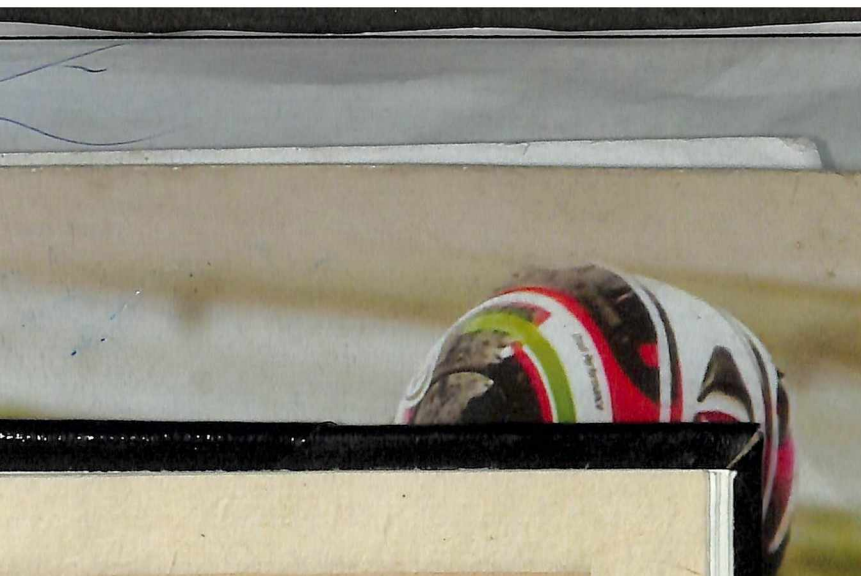
Yours very faithfully,

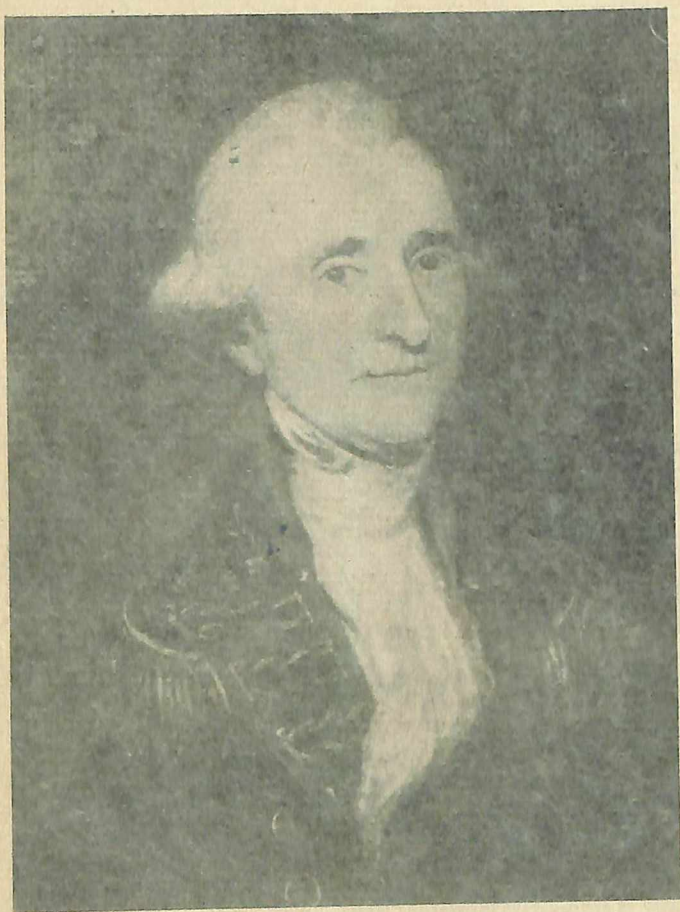
G. B. MALLESON.

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